Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-226 *22 November 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arms Control & Disarmament

Deputy Foreign Minister Reviews CSCE Talks *[TASS]* 1
Concern Over Possibe Arms Trade Detailed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Nov]* 1
Effects of Semipalatinsk Nuclear Tests Studied *[TASS]* 2
Krasnoyarsk Plutonium Plant To Shut Down *[IZVESTIYA 14 Nov]* 2

Worldwide Issues

TASS Reports Churkin News Conference 21 Nov 3
News of Aid Received 'With Pleasure' 3
Shevardnadze Cancels Trips Abroad 4
Iran's Velayati To Visit 24 Nov 4
Supports UN Peace Plan in Cambodia 4
Supports Croatian Evacuation Plan 4
Continuing Reportage on G-7 Finance Talks 4
Text of Communique Published *[TASS]* 4
Silayev Views Communique, Debt *[Radio Rossi]* 5
Silayev Reviews Talks *[TASS]* 6
G-7 To Defer Debt *[TASS]* 6
Expert on Ceasing Bank Operations *[INTERFAX]* 7
Deadlocked Talks Called 'Achievement' *[IZVESTIYA 21 Nov]* 7
Barannikov Attends Crime Prevention Conference *[TASS]* 8
Kalugin Addresses Colloquium on Terrorism *[TASS]* 8
NATO Efforts To Transform Assessed *[PRAVDA 16 Nov]* 8

United States & Canada

Bush Orders Grants, Credit in Food Aid *[TASS]* 9
More on 'Substantial' Aid *[TASS]* 10
Deputy Economic Minister Comments *[TASS]* 10
U.S. Paper Cites Concern Over Arms Sales *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 11

Northeast Asia

Commentator Views DPRK-Japan Talks *[Moscow International]* 11

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further on Australian Foreign Minister's Visit 12
Meets With Silayev *[TASS]* 12
Ends Moscow Part of Visit *[TASS]* 12
Shaposhnikov Receives New Zealand's Ambassador *[TASS]* 12

North East & South Asia

First Round of Talks With Mujahidin Assessed *[INTERFAX]* 12
Indian Minister Fails To Resolve 'Problems' *[INTERFAX]* 13

West Europe

Spokesman on Shaposhnikov Talks in Germany *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Nov]* 13
Honecker Extradition Issue Assessed *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* 14
KGB Reportedly Uncovers Wallenberg Documents
[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 18 Nov] 14
Cooperation Seminar With France Opens 21 Nov *[INTERFAX]* 15

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Gorbachev's Irkutsk Visit 16
Calls Perestroyka 'Great Cause' *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 22 Nov]* 16
Willing To End Presidential Candidacy *[Radio Rossii]* 17
Stresses 'Political Union' *[INTERFAX]* 18
Meets Residents, Discusses 'Worries' *[Moscow Radio]* 18
Comments on CPSU Links to Coup *[TASS]* 19
Central TV Details Visit *[Moscow TV]* 19
Supports Yeltsin's Economic Reforms *[INTERFAX]* 20
Views Defense Sector as 'Tumor' *[Moscow TV]* 20
Aviation Plant Meeting Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 22 Nov]* 21
Visits Classrooms, Laboratories *[TASS]* 22
Gorbachev, Shevardnadze Ties 'Severe Test' *[INTERFAX]* 22
More on Shevardnadze Appointment, Activities 23
Hope for Future Expressed *[Moscow International]* 23
Bessmertnykh Hails Move *[INTERFAX]* 23
Retention as Negotiating Head Sought *[BALTFAX]* 24
Meets French Official *[TASS]* 24
Churkin Discusses Foreign Ministry Restructure *[Moscow Radio]* 24
KGB Deputy Chairman Stolyarov Interviewed *[TRUD 15 Nov]* 27
Maritime Fleet Ministry Abolished *[INTERFAX]* 31
First Issue of Business Weekly Published *[TASS]* 31
TASS Carries Press Review for 22 Nov 31

Economic

Russia Against, Moldova Abstains in Budget Vote *[INTERFAX]* 32
Draft Agreement on Taxation Policy Announced *[TASS]* 32
Economic Union Meeting Begins 21 Nov in Moscow *[TASS]* 32
Silayev Chairs Meeting *[Moscow TV]* 33
Joint-Stock Company To Replace Ministry *[INTERFAX]* 33
Asphalt Producer To Become Joint-Stock Company *[INTERFAX]* 33
Soviet Fishing Fleet Divided by Regions *[INTERFAX]* 33
Railroad Responsible for Transporting Oil *[Moscow TV]* 34
Officials on Reports of Gold, Platinum Deals *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 34
Union Still 'Net Debtor' to East Europe in 1991 *[INTERFAX]* 35
National Gross Output Falls 12 Percent in 1991 *[Russian TV]* 36
50 Billion Rubles Added to Cash in Circulation *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Nov]* 36
Miners Buy Raspadskaya Coal Mine From State *[Moscow TV]* 36

Agricultural

Abandoning State, Collective Farms Viewed *[Moscow TV]* 36
Early Nov Weather, Crop Conditions Given *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 14 Nov]* 37

Scientific

Cosmos-2171 Earth Satellite Launched 20 Nov *[TASS]* 37

Military

Resolution on Armed Forces, Draft Issued *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Nov]* 37
Colonel Warns Shaposhnikov of Another Coup *[Moscow International]* 38
Political Bodies Liquidation Committee Meets 38
Leaders' Activities 'Denounced' *[TASS]* 38
News Conference Held *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Nov]* 38
Chairman Remarks *[Radio Rossii]* 39
Far East Commander on Kurils Withdrawal *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]* 40
Official Interviewed on Su-27 Export Decision *[INTERFAX]* 40
Commander Remarks on Air Show Participation *[Moscow TV]* 40
Soldiers Express 'Pain' Over Union Collapse *[Moscow TV]* 41
Defense Industry Trade Union Examines 'Losses' *[TASS]* 41

BALTIC COUNTRIES

Baltic Affairs

Cooperation With Nordic Nations Planned *[BALTFAX]* 42
Lithuania May Use Baltic Assembly Politically *[BALTFAX]* 42

Estonia

Republic 'Cannot Cope' Without Western Aid *[BALTFAX]* 42
Purchase of Fuel From West Considered *[BALTFAX]* 42
Supports EC Sanctions Against Yugoslavia *[BALTFAX]* 42
Official: $7 Million in Earnings Estimated *[BALTFAX]* 42
Railways To Function Independently as of 1 Jan *[Tallinn Radio]* 43
No Ruling on Status of Soviet Citizens *[BALTFAX]* 43
Second Air Assault Battalion Disbanded *[BALTFAX]* 43
Auction of Moscow-Run Enterprises Cancelled *[BALTFAX]* 43

Latvia

Supply Exchange Negotiated With Belorussia *[BALTFAX]* 43
Goods Supply Talks Continue With Republics *[Riga Radio]* 43
OMON Leader's Arrest Believed Legitimate *[BALTFAX]* 44
Riga, Daugavpils, Liepaja Elections Cancelled *[BALTFAX]* 44
Supreme Council Confirms Eight New Ministers *[Riga Radio]* 44
Lett Emigres Seek Latvian Citizenship *[BALTFAX]* 44

Lithuania

Diplomatic Relations Established With Armenia *[BALTFAX]* 45
Diplomatic Ties Protocol Signed With Ukraine *[Vilnius Radio]* 45
Vagnorius Congratulates Shevardnadze on Post *[Vilnius International]* 45
Republic Foreign Policy Problems Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 15 Nov]* 45
Landsbergis on Shevardnadze's Appointment *[BALTFAX]* 48
Collective, State Farms Prepare For Abolition *[BALTFAX]* 48
Figures Cited for 9-Month Economic Performance *[EKHO LITVY 14 Nov]* 48
Sajudis Withdrawal Ultimatum Rejected *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]* 49
Underground Terrorist Group Activity Reported *[TIESA 14 Nov]* 49
Brazauskas, Others on Former CP Property Law *[EKHO LITVY 9 Nov]* 50

RSFSR

International Affairs

Reportage on Honecker Extradition From Russia 52
Yeltsin Comments in Bonn *[TASS]* 52
Kozyrev on Gorbachev Position *[Berlin ADN]* 52
German Justice Ministry Comments *[TASS]* 52
Yeltsin Continues German Visit, Meets Leaders 52
Holds Talks With Kohl *[TASS]* 52
Signs Joint Statement With Kohl *[TASS]* 53
Comments on Agreement *[TASS]* 53
Speaks at Bonn Dinner *[TASS]* 53
Meets With Political Leaders *[TASS]* 54
Comments on First Day of Visit *[Radio Rossii]* 54
Meets With Genscher *[TASS]* 55
Holds Talks With Von Weizsaecker *[Radio Rossii]* 55
Kozyrev, Counterpart Sign Accord *[TASS]* 55
Commentary Views Yeltsin Trip to Germany *[Moscow International]* 55
Commentary on German Economic Investment *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 Nov]* 56
Yeltsin Envoy Takes 'New' Diplomacy to Japan *[IZVESTIYA 21 Nov]* 57
Khasbulatov Chairs Japanese Businessmen Meeting *[Russian TV]* 57
Customs Posts Installed on Estonian Border *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 58

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Supports Shevardnadze Appointment *[Russian TV]* 58
Fedorov Warns Gorbachev Not To Interfere *[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 21 Nov]* 59
More Republic Presidential Decrees Reported 60
On State Taxation Service *[TASS]* 60
On Scientific Institutions *[Moscow Radio]* 60
On Troop Protection *[Moscow TV]* 60
On Monitoring Foreign Aid *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 Nov]* 60
Rutskoy Comments on Foreign Arms Sales *[Moscow TV]* 60
'Information Leak' in SCSE Case Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 62
Procurator Discusses Emergency Committee Case *[INTERFAX]* 63

Supreme Soviet

Congress on Appeal to Republics' Soviets *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 20 Nov]* 63
Presidium on Presidential Decrees, Resolutions *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 21 Nov]* 65
Highlights of 21 Nov Presidium Session *[Russian TV]* 65

Local Affairs

'Reinforced' Night Patrols Begin in Groznyy *[Radio Rossii]* 65
Dudayev Signs Decree Lifting Martial Law *[TASS]* 65
Kuzbass Signs Agreement With DPRK Ministry *[POSTFACTUM]* 66
North Ossetian Media Publish Appeal to UN *[TASS]* 66
Novosibirsk Movement Opposes Yeltsin's Stance *[INTERFAX]* 66

WESTERN REPUBLICS

Interrepublic Affairs

Checkpoints Open on Ukrainian-Moldovan Border *[INTERFAX]* 67

Belorussia

Commercial, Economic Ties Planned With Poland *[Radio Rossii]* 67
Border Posts With Latvia, Lithuania Planned *[Radio Rossii]* 67

Defense Ministry, Security Council Formed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]* 67
Republic Reportedly Developing Own Currency *[Radio Rossii]* 67
Republic Restricts Sales to Residents *[Radio Rossii]* 67

Moldova

Republic Not To Sign Debt Servicing Agreement *[INTERFAX]* 67
Popular Front Protests Debt Memorandum *[Bucharest ROMPRES]* 68
Prime Minister on USSR's External Debts *[TASS]* 68
President Views Elections, Foreign Relations *[Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER 14 Nov]* 68
Justice Ministry Implements Organizations Law *[Radio Rossii]* 70
Flights Stopped Because of Fuel Shortages *[Radio Rossii]* 70

Ukraine

Republic Not To Join Political Union *[Russian TV]* 70
Minister on Rejection of G-7 Debt Accord *[Kiev Radio]* 71
Claims of Emerging New State 'False' *[INTERFAX]* 71
Foreign Minister on Shevardnadze Appointment *[TASS]* 71
Candidates Continue Presidential Campaign *[Kiev Radio]* 72
Candidate Links Sovereignty, Economic Success *[Radio Rossii]* 72
Poll Indicates Popularity of Candidates *[Kiev Radio]* 72
Lvov Oblast Candidate on Economy Reform *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* 72
Interior Troops Discuss National Guard *[Kiev Radio]* 73
Exercises Planned for Referendum Protested *[Kiev Radio]* 73
Statistics From Military Industries Required *[Kiev Radio]* 74
Foreign Minister Receives Swiss Counterpart *[Kiev Radio]* 74
Crimean Resolution on Enterprises Published *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Nov]* 74
Chernovtsy Oblast Seeks Foreign Economic Role *[IZVESTIYA 21 Nov]* 74
Russian Newspaper Published in Odessa *[Kiev Radio]* 75
Donbass Seeks Convening of Miners' Congress *[IZVESTIYA 19 Nov]* 75
Republic Seeks Help Over Chernobyl Effects *[AFP]* 75
Forum To Seek End to Church Conflicts *[INTERFAX]* 76

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Talks Broken Off With Azerbaijan *[TASS]* 77
Georgian Gas Pipeline Reportedly Damaged *[INTERFAX]* 77
Official Links Rail Blockade, Helicopter Crash *[TASS]* 77
President Seeks Canadian Economic Aid *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* 77

Azerbaijan

Aircraft Crashes in Nagorno-Karabakh 21 Nov *[Moscow International]* 78
Further on Helicopter Crash in NKAO 78
Crash Investigated *[TASS]* 78
Helicopter 'Shot Down' *[TASS]* 78
'Probably' Result of Rocket *[INTERFAX]* 78
Leader Declares 3-Day Mourning *[TASS]* 79
NKAO, Armenian Condolences *[Yerevan Radio]* 79
Further on Victims' Identities *[Moscow TV]* 79
Nagorno-Karabakh Seeks To Join Treaty *[Yerevan International]* 79
Gunfire Continues Along Border With Armenia *[INTERFAX]* 80
Army Property Stolen; Servicemen Attacked *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Nov]* 80
KGB Agents in Baku To Create 'Agitation' *[Istanbul HURRIYET 17 Nov]* 80
Leader Urges Extraordinary Parliament Session *[Russian TV]* 80
Business Council Protocol Signed With Turkey *[Ankara TV]* 80
Contract Prices on Oil Introduced *[Moscow TV]* 81

Georgia

Leader Announces 'Front' To Fight 'Empire' *[Moscow TV]* 81
President Criticizes News Media *[INTERFAX]* 81
President Nationalizes Soviet Army Property *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 12 Nov]* 81
Tension Despite 'Relative Calm' in S. Ossetia *[TASS]* 81
Democrats Criticize Conditions in Parliament *[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 5 Nov]* 82
Armenian Movement Leader Appointed Prefect *[ARMENPRES]* 82

CENTRAL REPUBLICS

Kazakhstan

Cattle Face Starvation Due to Drought *[IZVESTIYA 19 Nov]* 83

Kyrgyzstan

National Security Committee Replaces KGB *[Radio Rossii]* 83

Tajikistan

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Lithuania *[Moscow Radio]* 83
Cabinet Sets Up Food Crisis Commission *[Moscow Radio]* 83
Candidate Withdraws From Presidential Race *[Dushanbe Radio]* 83

Uzbekistan

Supreme Soviet Meets; Elections Set 29 Dec *[Tashkent Radio]* 84
Nominations for President Continue *[Moscow Radio]* 84
Russian Population 'Concerned' Over Future *[INTERFAX]* 84
POW Returns From Afghanistan *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* 84

Arms Control & Disarmament

Deputy Foreign Minister Reviews CSCE Talks

LD2111172291 Moscow TASS in English 1125 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Text] Vienna November 21 TASS—The International Conference on Stability and Security in Europe, which opened here on Wednesday [20 November], is looking for ways to fruitfully continue the Helsinki process, to streamline the cooperation mechanisms for resolving vital European problems. The conference is being attended by prominent politicians and experts from many European countries, as well as from the USSR, the United States and Canada.

The conference's agenda includes several most important problems, linked with collective security in Europe in light of the specific features of existing blocks and other structures, with the guaranteeing of Europe's economic and political stability in conditions of ongoing changes, and with the settlement of various crisis situations. Some of its ideas may be submitted for discussion by the new CSCE meeting in Helsinki in 1992.

The first open plenary meeting of the conference was addressed by Austrian Defence Minister Werner Fasslabend, Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vyerynen, and Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Yuriy Deryabin. They analysed the contemporary situation in Europe and outlined the goals and tasks of the CSCE process's further development.

"The key task, now confronting the CSCE nations," Deryabin told TASS, "is to strengthen and perfect the already created mechanisms within the frameworks of the all-European process, to make the adopted decisions more binding on member-states. Very interesting and noteworthy is the idea suggested by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to adopt a new decision-making principle within the CSCE, which is to be based on the "consensus minus one" formula.

"There is no doubt," the Soviet diplomat noted, "that the principle of complete consensus has so far ensured the vitality of the Helsinki process in all the aspects of the CSCE activity. It must remain the principal means for ensuring a balance of interests among CSCE nations, the possibility of finding mutual compromises. However, the dynamic developments in Europe dictate the need for new approaches, in this domain, too. In any case, Genscher's formula will enhance the CSCE's ability to react promptly to various emergency situations, will make possible the use of sanctions and other instruments to settle crisis situations, irrespective of whether the country against which such measures are employed, agrees to them or not.

Concern Over Possibe Arms Trade Detailed

PM2211104491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with S. Kazennov, senior scientific staffer at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, by D. Khrapovitskiy—place and date not given: "Americans Worried for a Reason: Arms Sales May Become Chaotic"]

[Text] The previous issue of IZVESTIYA printed a summary of a NEW YORK TIMES article reflecting the Americans' concern that the processes currently under way in what was the Soviet Union may stir up a fresh wave of arms proliferation in the world.

I asked the State Military-Industrial Commission and the former Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations to comment on the situation, but they refused. Candidate of Economic Sciences S. Kazennov, senior scientific staffer at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, tried to clarify the situation.

[Khrapovitskiy] How well-founded are the Americans' fears?

[Kazennov] The West has been put on its guard by the chaotic breakup of the Union and its military-political complex. It is, after all, possible that the now sovereign republics, which undoubtedly need hard currency today, will start to trade in arms.

[Krapovitskiy] How saturated is the international arms market today?

[Kazennov] It can quite easily absorb a mass of state-of-the-art weapons. Particularly since the Gulf War. Transactions worth tens of billions of dollars are carried out every year on the world arms market—up to a fifth of the deliveries, moreover, are on the black market. I would stress that even countries where you would have thought that there was adequate control over these shipments—the FRG, Switzerland, and the Netherlands—are up against problems of illegal arms shipments.

[Khrapovitskiy] Western commentators are afraid of a "brain drain" and a technology drain from our military-industrial complex, which will not under any circumstances embark on in-depth conversion.

[Kazennov] Regrettably, all that is quite possible. In the near future the unstable situation in the country's defense complex will bring about the dismissal of up to 1.5 million people, in the spheres of the development, production, and maintenance, among other things, of state-of-the-art weapons. That may have a very sorry effect on international security and stability. Under these conditions the cautious position espoused by the United States and other Western countries on questions of military-industrial and technological cooperation with the republics of what was the USSR is quite justified.

After all, in the high-tech field, it is safe to cooperate only with those whom you trust implicitly.

[Khrapovitskiy] Is it true that over the last few years the USSR has reduced its presence on the world arms market?

[Kazennov] In the last 10 years the USSR's share of world arms exports has dropped from 40 to 25 percent. That is an objective process. It was promoted by the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the USSR's global military partnership in the "Third World." What is more, we have finally begun to count the cost, and few of our customers can pay up. We can only return to the world weapons market as partners of the world community.

Effects of Semipalatinsk Nuclear Tests Studied

LD2111132791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1636 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Barnaul, 20 Nov (TASS)—From 1949, the population of the territories adjacent to the Semipalatinsk proving ground was subjected to radiation during surface nuclear explosions. This was established by the government commission created by Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to establish the consequences of nuclear tests. Today the commission finished its work in Altay Kray and the Gorno-Altay Soviet Socialist Republic. And although presently there is no danger of nuclear contamination, in a number or rayons people still suffer from ill health due to the consequences of the tests.

A member of the commission, Yakov Shoykhest, who is prorector of scientific work at the Altay Medical Institute, told the TASS correspondent that "having studied the materials submitted by the proving ground and by 34 scientific organizations of the country, the commission came to the conclusion that the population of the kray needed a whole range of socioeconomic protection measures in order to eliminate the consequences of nuclear tests on the Semipalatinsk proving ground. The commission has also accepted that some of the territory of the kray had suffered ruinous effects from the nuclear tests. Some of its inhabitants were subjected to the effects of radiation. Any unfavorable factor of the present environment, especially heavy metals, may affect the victims decades later."

Nevertheless, Yakov Shoykhest underlined that presently there was no danger. He continued, saying that "the goal is to continue a more detailed analysis of the consequences of the tests, to carry out the improvements of health services for the population, and to propose a complex of measures for socioeconomic development of the territories situated in the former zone affected by nuclear tests."

Today the members of the government commission left Barnaul for Orenburg Oblast, which had also suffered from nuclear tests.

Krasnoyarsk Plutonium Plant To Shut Down

924P0032A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov Union Edition p 6

[Article by TASS correspondent Yu. Khots especially for IZVESTIYA: "Underground AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station] Will No Longer Produce Plutonium"]

[Text] **This is the first report from the closed city not far from Krasnoyarsk. The underground nuclear station of the Krasnoyarsk mining-chemical combine is situated here at a depth of 250 meters. The station is in a subsiding condition—"running out." Its complete halt is a result of the initiative of the top leadership of the USSR and Russia to stop the production of fissionable materials.**

The concrete road that stretches along the shore of the Yenisey leads to a tunnel situated at the base of an enormous mountain. It started to be laid in the 1950's, when the government made a decision to construct uranium graphite reactors for the production of U-239, and, to put it in a more straightforward way, material for atom bombs. In those days, the principle of building such facilities deep under ground began to be implemented.

It was believed at the beginning of the 1950's: Enemy aircraft will not reach the center of Siberia. Well, in fact, this underground facility is not threatened by anything today either, even a nuclear strike. According to all drafts, the facility is supposed to work in wartime as well. The 250-meter stone roof reliably covers the entire unit from above. The tunnels themselves have several widened areas that are capable of suppressing a shock wave that rushes into them. Water, which is necessary to such a "broth," is right nearby—there is plenty of it in the Yenisey.

And so we are at the end of our long journey. On the way, we estimated: Approximately as much cement was used in finishing off the tunnels as would be required for one more Krasnoyarsk hydroelectric power station. There is an atomic reactor at the bottom of each of the huge artificial "caverns."

"The first two reactors are doomed," says Pavel Morozov, the combine's deputy chief engineer who is escorting us. We will stop one at the beginning of July 1992, and the second—within a year or two. The matter is more difficult with the third machine. When we stop it, we will be left without heat and energy immediately. It serves to heat a city of almost 100,000, the steam turns the generators of the electric power station.

We enter the office of Vladimir Kibo, the chief of the station.

"Starting from the moment that I came here 30 years ago as a graduate of an institute, I heard one thing—we are performing important work. Our former minister said from the stage in the House of Culture: 'Your combine was started, and the scale in the international arena became balanced. Because of our nuclear weapons, we are free.' And it is only now, probably, that we are beginning to understand that the resources directed at the manufacture of plutonium could be used for other work," explains Vladimir Nikolayevich.

"I think that our secrets did not last for a long time," Pavel Morozov said, joining the conversation. "There are interesting proposals on international cooperation. For example, French specialists are prepared to supply apparatuses for the measurement of neutrinos. Unfortunately, a resolution of this question is being delayed. But I am confident: Life will win out. Our specialists have begun to go abroad. Several years ago, we did not even dream of this! The proposed arrangement of especially pure production—gallium arsenide—will certainly lead to the fact that we will be forced to open our steel gates.

"This material is used for the manufacture of an elemental base in electronics. In the United States, for example, a program has been developed for its production estimated at $2 billion. But at the Krasnoyarsk nuclear facility, it can be produced by investing far less resources. Next year, it is planned to obtain the first samples here, which in purity have no equal in our country....

"I am confident: Everyone who today meets with specialists from nuclear stations inevitably asks them about safety."

"The system of safety at a station is much more reliable than others," says Vladimir Kibo. "The appearance of the slightest malfunction automatically stops the reactor. Moreover, this takes only two seconds. I will not conceal this fact: There are several stoppages annually because of emergency signals. But not one of them resulted in emissions. Moreover, the world concept of the safety of nuclear facilities, besides increasing the reliability of the reactor itself, is directed in any event at preventing the escape of radiation from within the bounds of the station. And in this sense, the underground location guarantees us against any kind of accident. No other station in the world has such protection. After the Chernobyl catastrophe, a wave of protests arose in Krasnoyarsk that were associated with the construction in Atomgrad of a new underground storage site for radioactive materials—the regrettably well-known site No. 27. They were supported by people's deputies and local authorities. As a result, this idea had to be dropped."

"But will we not throw the baby out with the bathwater?" continues the director. "We cannot treat nuclear repositories in the same way that we treat highly technological production that is capable of giving a tangible benefit to the population of Krasnoyarskiy Kray. I emphasize that it is not a question of burying nuclear wastes, but of their storage. These are different things."

Incidentally, we talked about this just before our arrival at Atomgrad with USSR people's deputy and writer Roman Solntsev. He believes that, having nourished such a child, Siberian residents now have a right to receive a return from it. For this, it is necessary to finish building the second phase of the plant for the regeneration of the fuel of nuclear stations, in order not to store it aimlessly in huge water reservoirs, but to return it back to the station. It will be a lot cheaper for the country—not to acquire new tons of uranium, but to return it to the consumers. And to require that the managers of the combine share the profits with the kray.

By the way, this opinion is also held by Yu. Moskvich, the representative of the president of Russia in Krasnoyarsk. He thinks that both Krasnoyarsk and the rural rayons need substantial capital investments in medicine and in the social sphere. They can be given by the combine, if it is permitted to earn hard currency.

Worldwide Issues

TASS Reports Churkin News Conference 21 Nov

News of Aid Received 'With Pleasure'

LD2111152491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1421 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—"We have received with pleasure news of the White House statement on additional measures to assist the Soviet Union in resolving its foodstuffs problems during the coming winter period." This was stated today at a briefing in Moscow by Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry for External Relations.

He emphasized that the new steps undertaken by the U.S. Administration, moving in the direction of developing the agreements reached between the USSR and U.S. Presidents in Madrid, are seen in our country as "sign of a partnership between the two countries, which is growing stronger, and of the support of the United States for radical economic changes and democratic processes during this difficult time for us."

The guaranteed U.S. Government credits being offered, totalling $1.25 billion for the purchase of U.S. agricultural produce, are in accordance with the treaties agreed on between the 12 sovereign republics—members of the interrepublican foodstuffs commission—"to be used by them on a fair and equal basis."

The representative of the Ministry for External Relations has also expressed his gratitude to the U.S. people for

their generous aid of $165 million, which has been sent to satisfy our country's most acute needs regarding foodstuffs.

Shevardnadze Cancels Trips Abroad

LD2111145891 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, newly appointed Soviet foreign minister, will work out a programme of activities, proceeding from the complexity of the current situation, Vitaliy Churkin, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, told a briefing here today.

"Eduard Shevardnadze believes everybody should go to barricades to save the country, freedom and democracy and help it survive and pass this serious test," Churkin said.

He said the minister will cancel previously planned trips to foreign countries to normalise relations with republics inside the country.

To this end, he will visit sovereign republics and meet Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin, Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russian State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis and other Russian leaders.

Churkin said Shevardnadze, who is a co-chairman of the organising committee of the founding congress of the Democratic Reforms Movement, "believes it's necessary to bring the course of the congress to the end".

"As for his role in the movement, it will be discussed by the movement congress to be held in mid-December," the spokesman said.

Iran's Velayati To Visit 24 Nov

LD2111150891 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati will visit Moscow on November 24, Vitaily Churkin, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, told a briefing today in Moscow.

Churkin said Velayati will bring a message to Mikhail Gorbachev from the Iranian president. He will also meet Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and the Russian leadership.

After Moscow, Velayati will travel to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan.

Supports UN Peace Plan in Cambodia

LD2211100791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1534 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—The UN General Assembly decision on Cambodia morally backs the efforts being undertaken presently by the United Nations to implement in practice the peace plan for Cambodia. This has been stated by the chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of External Relations, Vitaliy Churkin, at a briefing which took place here today.

On 20 November the UN General Assembly approved a resolution on the situation in Cambodia which, according to the Soviet diplomat, is a qualitatively new document, reflecting the determination, first of all, of the Khmer sides themselves, and also of the entire world community, to achieve a lasting and just resolution of the Cambodian problem. For its part, V. Churkin stressed, the USSR is prepared to give the utmost support to measures to eliminate the hotbed of tension in Indochina, and to turn this region into a zone of peace and stable, mutually advantageous cooperation.

Supports Croatian Evacuation Plan

LD2111175991 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Vitaly Churkin, at a briefing in Moscow today described the decision, supported by Croatian leadership, to evacuate Croatian population from the Yugoslav ports by military ships as "purely humanitarian" and encouraged by Croatian authorities. Making reference to information available to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Churkin said foreign ships do not enter the Yugoslav territorial waters, while military convoys in international waters cannot be considered as demonstrating military force.

Continuing Reportage on G-7 Finance Talks

Text of Communique Published

LD2111205191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1856 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—Here is the full text of the communique on the talks between the G-7 financiers and representatives of the sovereign republics:

COMMUNIQUE

1. The following sovereign states—the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus [Belorussia], the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Soviet

Federative Socialist Republic, the Republic of Tajikistan, the State of Turkmenistan, and the Union which signed the memorandum of understanding on 28 October 1991—and the Group of Seven held talks in Moscow from 18 to 21 November 1991 on currency and finance issues of mutual interest.

2. A. The memorandum of understanding of 28 October on the issue of external debt was signed without any reservations and came fully into force for the sides that signed the aforementioned memorandum. Without prejudice to the immediate effect of the memorandum, the sides pledge to conclude by the end of November 1991 a special agreement on the division of responsibility for the payment and servicing of the USSR external debt, and an agreement on the division of all USSR assets. The sides will undertake the necessary measures aimed at mobilizing additional foreign currency and consolidating foreign currency for the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, which is empowered to service this debt in accordance with the memorandum. Soviet banks abroad, including the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, and their branches will turn to the competent bodies of the country where they are located for clarification regarding their position. The sides will inform the G-7 countries and other creditor countries about the process of fulfilling the obligations they have undertaken, including the provision of complete statistical information on servicing the debt.

B. Acting in conjunction with the IMF, they will put into effect, as a matter of the utmost urgency, suitable macroeconomic measures aimed specifically at resolving the following issues: the reduction of budget deficits, of expenditure on public needs, and of the growth of the monetary mass, as well as the liberalization of prices and of the exchange rate. Correspondingly, on the basis of comprehensive consultations with the IMF, they intend to adopt and implement in the first quarter of 1992 all-embracing and extensive programs of macroeconomic and structural modification, bearing IMF recommendations in mind. Recognizing the high degree of their economic interdependence, the sides will seek to preserve free interstate trade. The sides also recognize the need to publish available economic and financial information in keeping with international standards and are ready to improve their data collection systems.

C. The sides will seek to quickly mobilize and use nontied credit already granted by other countries.

D. The memorandum is open for signing by other legal successors to the USSR.

3. The sides are presently in a critical position in the economic and financial field. For this reason, they have asked for the provision of urgent foreign assistance to supplement the food aid and other programs that are already at the stage of consideration and implementation. Proceeding from all the foregoing, the G-7 countries are prepared to support the measures listed below:

A. The rescheduling of payments on the amount of just the basic debt related to the long-term and medium-term official external indebtedness as constituted before 1 January 1991. The sides will seek to secure a similar attitude on the part of all other creditors, including commercial banks, other creditor countries, and suppliers.

The rescheduling covers payments on the basic debt for medium-and long-term credits coming in the period to the end of 1992. It may be extended after 31 March 1992 on condition that satisfactory progress is achieved in fulfilling the measures listed above in Paragraph 1, in particular the adoption of programs prepared on the basis of all-around consultations with the IMF, taking into consideration IMF recommendations, and the mobilization of foreign currency. The rescheduling remains in force on the condition that all unrescheduled payments, including interest, are made on time. In order that the rescheduling remain in force, payments on sums to which the rescheduling does not apply, including interest, must be made on time. The implementation of this measure requires talks between the bank responsible for the payment of the debt and all creditors.

B. Short-term credits granted by export credit agencies, which are requested to continue granting short-term credits and guarantees to banks and suppliers, must be maintained. The sides and their appropriate finance establishments will ask the banks and suppliers for a renewal of short-term credit lines.

C. Possible fixed-term financing in the form of lines for gold swaps will be implemented in stages depending on the progress in mobilizing foreign currency for servicing foreign debt in accordance with Paragraph 2, Section A. In this case, the gold must be held in places acceptable to the G-7.

4. All these measures represent one whole and must not be viewed individually. The support of the G-7 countries for this packet of measures is based on the continuing fulfillment by the sides of the above obligations.

5. The G-7 countries are prepared to give assistance in securing a similiar attitude toward the USSR on the part of the USSR's debtor countries, as toward other creditor countries, in accordance with the usual international practice of cooperation. The G-7 countries will also provide consultation aimed at mobilizing foreign currency in the form of direct investments and financing from other sources secured using natural resources and the advance sales of certain raw materials and other goods as collateral.

Silayev Views Communique, Debt

LD2111182991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The meeting between the heads of the sovereign republics and the representatives of the seven leading Western countries ended in Moscow today with the

signing of a communique. In the communique, which was signed by eight republics, the West proposed postponing the payments on only the sum of the main debt—the long-term and medium-term official external indebtedness that was incurred before 1 January 1991.

According to Ivan Silayev, the postponement is operative until 31 December 1992 and is assessed at a sum of $3.6 billion. The postponement may be prolonged after 31 March 1992 when the sides assemble once again to discuss the course of the implementation of the provisions of the communique.

Speaking about granting Western credits of $1 billion to the Union to cover urgent debt payments using 100,000,000 tonnes of gold [as heard] from the Union's gold reserves, Ivan Silayev said that the republics would agree to this only as an extreme measure. Further, the size of the guarantee will be much smaller.

The communique also contains the obligations of the republics to mobilize their foreign currency potential to pay off the external debt. The communique notes that the memorandum on the joint responsibility of the republics for the debts remains open for signing. So far eight republics of the 12, except for the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan, have unconditionally confirmed their signatures on the memorandum.

Ivan Silayev expressed confidence that within 10 days after an agreement is reached on the share of each republic of the external debt of the USSR and its assets abroad, the Ukraine would sign it.

Replying to a question from an INTERFAX correspondent on whether the republics that have not agreed to the joint reponsibility would receive supplies, including foodstuffs, paid for by Western credits, Ivan Silayev said this problem would be tackled at the council of heads of governments.

Silayev Reviews Talks

LD2111200191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1824 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Igor Peskov and Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS) A meeting of the representatives of the seven economically developed countries of the West with the heads of governments of the sovereign republics of the former USSR ended here today with the signing of a joint communique. This document creates the legal basis for the settlement of the problem of the repayment of the foreign debts of the former USSR and stipulates the specific actions of the G-7 in creating preferential terms in the process of settlements and granting new credits. In particular, the G-7 agreed to postpone short-term and medium-term loan repayments amounting to 306 billion dollars prior to 31 December 1992.

At the news conference which took place after the meeting ended, Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee stated that virtually all sovereign republics had confirmed their responsibility for repayment of the USSR debt. According to Silayev, this was assisted by "the consolidating role of Russia," which is taking upon itself the repayment of a considerable proportion of the debt. The Ukraine has promised to join this accord afer the debts and assets of the former Union have been divided up. Uzbekistan has taken upon itself the obligation to redeem only its own debt obligations. As has become known, Georgia's representative stated that he will announce a decision on this matter after additional consultations with the Georgian leadership.

The final document of the meeting notes that over the next 10 days the sovereign republics will be working on dividing among themselves the debt of the former USSR and the assets in the country and abroad. Moreover, an accord has been reached on setting up the Interstate Committee for Monitoring the Servicing of the Debt which has been entrusted to the USSR Vneshekonombank.

Touching on the matter of finding additional reserves of foreign currency for repaying debts and stabilizing the country's economy, Ivan Silayev said that the G-7 expressed readiness to give the Union $1 billion using 100 tonnes of gold as security. We did not agree to this, he noted, having proposed different versions for resolving the problem. In the end it was decided to discuss this problem in the future or at most give as a security a proportion of the gold which the G-7 mentioned.

An accord has also been reached with the G-7 that the realization of the economic reforms in the country will be carried out with the participation of the IMF and the World Bank, Silayev noted.

The G-7 representatives who spoke at the news conference called the results of the meeting and the signing of the final document "an event of historic importance" and expressed readiness to assist in every possible way the implementaiton of economic reforms in the country.

G-7 To Defer Debt

LD2111173991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Igor Peskov and Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—In the course of 10 days, the 12 sovereign republics will work to divide among themselves the debt of the former USSR and its assets in the country and abroad. A joint communique on the results of the meeting between representatives of the seven economically developed Western countries and the leaders of the governments of the sovereign

republics of the former USSR, signed today, states this. The document is devoted to problems of settling the country's foreign debt.

The sides also agreed on setting up an interstate committee for supervising the servicing of the debt, which will be carried out by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. The G-7 financiers agreed to defer the short- and medium-term debts of the USSR to the total amount of $3.6 billion.

In the course of the meeting, nine sovereign republics confirmed their joint responsibility to repay the debt of the USSR. The Ukraine promised to join this agreement after the debts and assets of the former Union are divided in 10 days.

Uzbekistan pledged to pay only its share. A Georgian representative stated that Georgia will make a decision on this after additional consultations by the republic's leadership.

Expert on Ceasing Bank Operations

OW2111123891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Soviet foreign trade expert taking part in the talks with the G-7 representatives in Moscow has refuted the allegations that the chairman of the USSR bank for external economic relations Yuriy Moskovskiy signed a document on ceasing financial support for 7 Soviet banking institutions abroad by the major shareholders, such as the USSR bank for external economic relations and the USSR state bank. The allegations appeared in the Japanese news media on November 20. According to them, at the talks with the G-7 officials the issue connected with the activity of these banking institutions is also under discussion.

In answer to a question from IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent the Soviet expert said that in fact Yuriy Moskovskiy had signed no such document. As for discussions at the meeting with the G-7 officials, even though this issue was considered indeed, no final decision was taken in this respect. This means, the expert said, that Soviet banks abroad must continue their activity.

Deadlocked Talks Called 'Achievement'

PM2211095991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[M. Berger article: "Will the West Help a Country Whose Army is Forced To Defend Itself Weapon in Hand? G-7 Talks: Main Result is—No Negative Results"]

[Text] The second round of talks concerning problems of the former Union's foreign debt ended with a meeting in the Kremlin between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and representatives of the G-7 countries' financial departments.

The talks were preceded by a difficult showdown between the leadership of the Interstate Economic Committee and the heads of the 12 sovereign states. The refusal of the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan to subscribe to the memorandum on joint and several [solidarnyy] liability for the former Union's debts created a virtually hopeless situation. It was probably only the vast size of the debt and the West's responsibility for what is happening in our country that kept the parties from ostentatiously slamming doors. Precisely because of this the vague result of the talks—which were effectively only one of the intermediate steps in settling the problem under discussion—can be considered an achievement merely because they ended in deadlock.

Eduard Shevardnadze's appointment as minister of external relations during the difficult G-7 talks probably acted as a signal, to use the language of diplomats. Incidentally, by this, presumably, the USSR president wanted to confirm some continuity in policy and acknowledge previous commitments.

Andrey Grachev, head of the USSR president's press service, said straight after the meeting that the G-7 countries are prepared to provide us with emergency aid. This information seems reassuring given the known difficulties and those that were kept hidden behind closed doors at the talks; however, there is some way to go between emergency aid and the stable cooperation we so badly need. This ground can only be covered by meeting a number of direct and indirect conditions. One being collective liability for debts. A memorandum has been opened for signing, but the very likelihood of such major payers as the Ukraine and Uzbekistan opting out creates a host of problems. Admittedly, Andrey Orlov, our correspondent in Tashkent, reports that the Uzbek parliament has decided not to refuse to sign the foreign debt agreements altogether, but first to investigate how the debts arose and what Uzbekistan's real "share" [zasluga] of them is. But these questions are so complex that the time needed to clarify them will be tantamount to pulling out.

If the "nine" remain "nine," there will be more problems due not only to the foreign debt (do the "nine" want to take on the debts of those who have pulled out?) but also to internal economic agreements. Opting out of the collective servicing of the foreign debt will not gel well with involvement in the economic community "collective."

Worst of all is maybe the fact that the "names" involved in the political arithmetic (the "seven" republics which signed the Union treaty, the "dozen" which subscribed to the economic agreement, and the "nine" debt payers) are constantly changing, which makes the problem of reaching agreements very very difficult.

Barannikov Attends Crime Prevention Conference

LD2211094291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris, 20 Nov (TASS)—The problems of combatting crime affect all of the world community, in the most direct manner, because in our day crime knows no borders—either international or republican. Viktor Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs, stated this to the TASS correspondent in an interview. Today he arrived in the French capital to take part in an international conference that is opening in Versailles on Thursday [21 November]. The representatives of 150 states are assembling to create an effective UN program on crime prevention and criminal justice.

We have been working on a draft program in the most serious manner, and intend to present a number of original proposals, the minister noted. According to him, the Soviet delegation also has specific proposals to make on organizational issues that have to be resolved if the conference is to arrive at a practical solution to the problems of combatting crime. Barannikov has also reported that issues of cooperation between the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the French law and order bodies will be examined at a meeting with Philippe Marchand, French minister of the interior.

The Ukraine and Belarus [Belorussia] will be taking part in the Versailles conference independently. Their delegations are headed by the republics' ministers of internal affairs, Andrey Vasilishin and Vladimir Yegorov respectively.

Kalugin Addresses Colloquium on Terrorism

LD2211095591

[Editorial Report] Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 2352 GMT on 20 November transmits a 400-word report by TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev, datelined Paris, 20 November, on an international colloquium held there on combatting world terrorism. General Oleg Kalugin, advisor to the chairman of the USSR Interrepublic Security Service, spoke, saying:

"'The Soviet Union will never again resort to terrorist acts in international relations.' We are prepared to open up our archives, he noted, adding: 'Everything will be published. For example, we are prepared to hand over to Japan information on the circumstances of the destruction of the South Korean aircraft in 1983.' In Kalugin's words, the 'explosive situation' that has arisen in the sphere of interethnic relations in the Soviet Union poses a great danger for the entire world. He did not rule out that individual groups of extremists will seek to take possession of tactical nuclear weapons scattered on the territory of the Soviet Union."

Batyrev ends his report by quoting a former CIA antiterrorist expert, who speaks of the potential for future instability in a multipolar world.

NATO Efforts To Transform Assessed

PM2011115791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 91 p 4

["View From Moscow" article by Anatoliy Karpychev: "Who in Europe is Living Comfortably"]

[Text] In a situation where for the time being certain of our figures are seeking the road to truth and concord through quarreling with one another rather than debate about substance, and the top diplomatic team, now ensconced in the quarters of the former Central Committee on Old Square, is "squeezing out" one-third of the team of Union minister Boris Pankin on Smolensk Square, the West has no choice but to take the initiative into its own hands. Which as a matter of fact it is doing.

I was agreeably surprised, for example, to find mention of Helsinki-2—the all-European summit meeting in 1992—in the documents of the Rome session of the NATO Council, which took place recently and left quite a lot of propaganda ballyhoo in its wake. M.S. Gorbachev put forward the idea of such a meeting, also in Rome, I recall; it was then officially backed by the leaders of the other states. I do not think that our diplomats have forgotten this, particularly as NATO members do remember it. The North Atlantic alliance regards Helsinki-2 as another important step toward building a new Europe.

This acknowledgment does credit to this powerful organization which is seeking a new identity and place for itself in Europe, but is as yet doing so only with difficulty.

The future of the Old World after the cold war and the destiny of the "common European home"—this in principle is our future and our destiny. We are a deeply interested party here. I am convinced that little would have changed to date in Europe, too, without the changes in our country. It would have remained split into military blocs, Berlin walls, and Iron Curtains would still bar the way to contact, fear would reign—and suddenly....

The "suddenly" did not come to pass. Somehow or another it was deflected. In a few days' time it will be the first anniversary of the Paris forum of heads of state and government (CSCE), which deserves not to be forgotten. It rendered a great service to the future of Europe. There in Paris two powerful military groupings—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—declared to the whole world that they were no longer enemies and that the "era of confrontation and division" was over. The Paris Charter for a New Europe was signed there, a document which is also very noteworthy and, I would say, humane.

A whole year has elapsed, but I somehow have the feeling that it is as if we are suddenly becoming redundant in

certain European affairs and that people are again able to talk to us from a position of strength. And in general have we not to a certain extent, preoccupied as we are with extreme difficulties back home, become detached observers of "the hijacking of Europa."

I may be mistaken. But I draw this conclusion after analyzing statements by certain participants in the Rome session of the esteemed North Atlantic alliance. They distributed the emphases in their position in a professional manner based on the fundamental changes in the Soviet Union (no, not the world) since the August events. These events and their consequences in the configuration of political forces have henceforth become the points of departure for analysis, forecasts, attitudes, and even the manner of talking to us. The situation is very complex. We are ruthlessly destroying our own home and want people to believe that we want to build a common European home? Everything is interrelated, even our wonderful intentions.

In Rome, however, the wonderful compliments were made not to us but to NATO and the session itself. There were so many compliments that it is awkward even to try to repeat them all—one is spoiled for choice. Even communist rhetoric was in the air: A breakthrough, historic event (landmark), indispensable guarantee of security, means of transition to the new Europe.... Had it been a Soviet organization a meritorious order would certainly have adorned its banner in the not-so-distant future.

It must be admitted that the staying power of the North Atlantic alliance deserves respect. If you cast aside the compliments and ignore the euphoria regarding the new strategy and the verbosity of the documents, the key thing nevertheless remains: The Warsaw Pact has departed this life, while NATO, by all accounts, intends to live a long one. Some observers say with a smile on their face: Yes, the alliance is fine, but it is not sacred, you do not have to idolize it, do you?

It is not sacred from the standpoint of European common sense, but it certainly is so from the standpoint of the American presence in Europe. Particularly now, when there is no threat of war and at the same time many things are either in flux or at a crossroads. The question of the American presence was bound to surface in Rome. And it did so despite the compliments. Journalists began talking of disagreements, but they were reassured that they were not disagreements but contentious points of detail. Alas, it was clearly not details which made President Bush "raise the tone" in his speech and put a direct question to his partners: If you do not want our presence in Europe, tell us.

No one said "no." Although a unanimous opinion within the alliance has not been observable for a long time. As is well known, France left NATO's military organization back in 1966. And today, too, it is the "disturber of the peace." The recent creation of a Franco-German military brigade outside NATO was perceived as a sensation and a challenge. Why? "It will become the basis for European defense forces on the continent," its proponents answered. And again the standard question: "Why does Europe need this when it has NATO?"

Whichever way you approach things, the North Atlantic alliance is always there.

One journalist described NATO as a "dead planet." He was cruelly mistaken. It is not dying, but is slowly transforming. The "enemy" had disappeared? So what! It proved easier to look for an "enemy" than at once abandon the old stereotypes and prejudices. Henceforth the "enemies" became the unpredictability in the USSR, the situation in Yugoslavia, nationalism.... But excuse us, observers ask, what has NATO to do with the events in the USSR?

I am convinced that Europe can live without NATO. It is clear to everyone that the logical—historical, if you want—finale is approaching, and this has to be accepted. The world has survived the "collapse of communism" and will also survive the departure of NATO from the political arena, particularly as the alliance is becoming a hindrance to the new Europe. First, it was created with different aims and tasks, and in a completely different situation. Second, it is already apparent that NATO is beginning to duplicate the functions of a number of other international organizations—more contemporary and peace-oriented ones—including the functions of the CSCE. And third, Europe has its own plans and projects aside from NATO. Quite soon, in December, in the city of Maastricht (the Netherlands), the countries of the European Community will be seeking to conclude a political union, and this will entail enormous changes not just on the continent. This in general will require a revision of U.S. strategy toward Europe.

Clearly we, too, should not stand aside, calmly observing the changes in Europe. Much again requires revision in the practice of intercourse among states. In Rome, for example, a statement on the events in the Soviet Union was adopted. We were given advice. Afterwards Francois Mitterrand refused to sign it, considering it tactless for him to interfere in another country's affairs. This would undoubtedly not have happened if the example of London and the G-7 had been followed.

There were rumors that the USSR president would be going to the Rome session, as he had to London. The rumors were not borne out. A pity. The time has clearly come when the leaders of the leading countries—they are permanent partners and friends—should act differently from before in relation to the ideological enemy. After all, the future of peoples and continents is at stake.

United States & Canada

Bush Orders Grants, Credit in Food Aid

LD2111153491 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS commentator Aleksey Filatov]

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—It was learned here that U.S. President George Bush has ordered additional food aid to the USSR.

Commenting on this report, First Deputy Minister for Agriculture and Food Supplies of the USSR Yuriy Mordvintsev stressed that the American step had, above all, the purpose of alleviating the food shortage this winter.

The United States is giving our country credit guarantees amounting to almost 1.5 billion U.S. dollars and a 165 million U.S. dollars grant for urgent purchases of food and for technical assistance. These measures were planned during the recent visit to the USSR by the U.S. secretary of agriculture and then approved by President Bush.

"The credit guarantees," Mordvintsev said, "will be provided stage-by-stage specially for purchasing foodstuffs, primarily grain. As to technical assistance, it will be granted according to a jointly elaborated programme to develop our agriculture. The U.S. plans, primarily, to familiarise Soviet farmers with the American know-how in manufacturing and distributing foodstuffs. It plans to set up agricultural enterprises near St. Petersbug and wholesale food markets in the suburbs of Moscow and Kiev.

More on 'Substantial' Aid

LD2111154191 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Washington November 21 TASS—President Bush issued an order on 20 November to render substantial food aid to Moscow and the former Soviet republics. The President's initiative includes credit guarantees amounting to 1.25 billion U.S. dollars, as well as a 165 million U.S. dollars grant for urgent purchases of food and for technical assistance, which will be extended both to the central Soviet Government and to the republics.

U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan said the credit guarantees would be given in four stages. The Soviet Union will immediately obtain a credit of 500 million U.S. dollars. Later, in February, March and April 1992, it can expect to get three loans of 250 million U.S. dollars each. Madigan said that the urgent 165 million dollars food aid would be distributed as far as possible through non-governmental channels.

Bush's decision to render food aid to the USSR was not easy. As distinct from previous years, the President had to take into account not only foreign policy factors, but also the situation within the United States, where a presidential elections campaign has begun. Bush, who is planning to run for the presidency, has lately come under sharp criticism of his political opponents, who believe he is devoting too much attention to international affairs and neglecting domestic problems, mainly the alarming economic downslide.

Nevertheless, other considerations have prevailed both in the U.S. Congress and the administration. They believe that there will be a grave political and social crisis in the USSR this winter, if it gets no massive Western aid. The ASSOCIATED PRESS reports, with reference to U.S. intelligence sources, that hunger and disintegration of political structures in the USSR may trigger a race for control over almost 30,000 units of nuclear weapons in the country, including a widely-scattered arsenal of tactical nuclear weapons. This race, the U.S. intelligence believes, may culminate in military clashes.

This is why a group of influential senators from the democratic and republican parties urged the administration, immediately after the "presidential initiative" to aid the USSR was announced in the White House, to take new, broader steps to aid the Soviet Union. Senator David Boren said it was necessary to put aside political disputes and to regard aid to the USSR as a problem of U.S. national security. He said history would condemn the U.S. and the American people if nothing was done today.

Deputy Economic Minister Comments

LD2211114891 Moscow TASS in English 1014 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Pyotr Tsyrendorzhiev]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The Americans are ready to render the Soviet people practical aid in the forthcoming winter and spring period. The U.S. President's new initiative to grant additional aid to the USSR has the purpose of alleviating the food problem in the Soviet Union. The U.S. will give the USSR credits amounting to 1.25 billion U.S. dollars. Moreover, it will extend to the USSR gratuitous aid amounting to 165 million U.S. dollars for urgent purchases of food products and technical assistance.

"The credits will be distributed by the country's State Council," USSR Deputy Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Yuriy Chumakov said, commenting on the news. "It is pertinent to recall that the prime ministers of the former Union's 12 republics have signed an agreement on the distribution of food products next year and have decided how the provided money will be used.

"They have also vested the Inter-State Economic Committee with all the necessary powers to conclude agreements on foreign financial and food aid. The first deliveries will apparently be started in the second half of December. But certain details have first to be settled at inter-governmental level. Then 'Exportkhleb' will negotiate all the food purchases with the trade and credits corporation of the U.S. Ministry of Agriculture."

"This year," Chumakov said, "the American aid amounted to 2.5 billion U.S. dollars. Contracts were concluded for all the sum. Now the White House has again assumed the role of guarantor to U.S. banks. The credits are expected to be granted to the Soviet Union in

several stages. The Soviet side, according to U.S. Minister for Agriculture Edward Madigan, will get 'immediate access' to the first loan of 500 million U.S. dollars."

U.S. Paper Cites Concern Over Arms Sales

PM2211102991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent A. Shalnev report: "Pentagon Afraid Our Military Could Do Anything for Currency"]

[Text] New York—THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported that the Pentagon and intelligence circles are voicing serious and growing concern at "the aggressive attempts of the Soviet Union, in desperate need of currency, to sell arms and sophisticated military technology abroad." These attempts, the newspaper emphasizes, "could stir up a new wave of arms proliferation."

According to a statement by an employee of one of the U.S. intelligence services, a Soviet MiG-31 fighter has already been on show at an arms fair held in Dubai this month. At the same time, Syria is acquiring improved T-72 tanks, while Iran is seeking to acquire fighters. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES information, the Pentagon is investigating conjecture about the sale of modernized Soviet Scud missiles to "Third World" countries.

"I am very concerned about sales of technology," U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary Donald Atwood said in an interview. "We would like the Soviet Union," he continued, "to stop selling weapons to countries where unstable governments are in power or which have committed acts of aggression and terrorism in the past." "In particular," the deputy secretary emphasized, "we would like to stop deliveries of technologies which would subsequently enable those countries to create weapons of mass destruction."

In this connection, THE NEW YORK TIMES mentions the fears being voiced in America with regard to the fact that, under conditions of economic difficulties, thousands upon thousands of Soviet scientists specializing in the creation of nuclear and chemical arms could soon lose their jobs at home and will try to find work elsewhere, "wherever the pay is highest." Among the countries for which Soviet scientists might head, the newspaper mentions North Korea and Iran.

According to Atwood and intelligence staffers, "There is as yet no clear evidence of an active 'brain drain' from the USSR."

As for arms deliveries, from the viewpoint of THE NEW YORK TIMES, the warnings that Washington has given Moscow—warnings that arms deliveries could undermine the prospects for Western aid to the Soviet Union—will evidently hold in check sales on an intergovernmental level, but the Pentagon does not rule out the possibility that thousands of soldiers and officers discharged from the Armed Forces might engage in selling arms and technology "on the world black market."

The Bush administration, THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, is simply torn between "the desire to acquire all kinds of previously secret Soviet arms at giveaway prices and the desire to channel the Soviet military industry into the production of peaceful output."

Delegations of Pentagon experts recently visited the Soviet Union to "familiarize themselves with and evaluate new weapons and technologies." So as to ensure that visits of this kind are not perceived by Soviet politicians as grounds for avoiding the conversion of military enterprises, Atwood recently ordered that all Pentagon representatives who intend to visit the Soviet Union must coordinate these visits either with him—Atwood—or with Defense Secretary R. Cheney.

Northeast Asia

Commentator Views DPRK-Japan Talks

SK2211061691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The fifth round of formal talks on the normalization of relations between the DPRK and Japan in Beijing has come to an end.

Station commentator Oleg Alekseyev comments on the outcome:

The just-concluded talks were not as successful as previous ones. This is no surprise because observers had predicted no success after seeing the way the two sides behaved on the eve of the talks.

Tokyo said that the normalization of relations between Japan and North Korea is possible only when Pyongyang allows unconditional inspection of its nuclear facilities by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The DPRK said in a statement issued by the state-run KOREA CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY that nuclear inspections by the international institution, which Japan tries to force on it, cannot be allowed and that only the question of compensation for the losses incurred under Japan's occupation of Korea should be discussed.

Thus, it was already that the talks would not be successful even before they started. As if to prove this, Japan and the DPRK ended the talks without reaching any agreement.

It is natural for the parties to talks to narrow the differences in opinions and stands on issues in the process of holding the talks. The parties concerned want to use the talks to narrow differences in opinion.

However, it is not appropriate for any one party to give the opposing side something approaching an ultimatum before the talks start. I do not mean to suggest that Japan's insistence that the DPRK allow inspection of its nuclear facilities or the DPRK's demand that the compensation be discussed at the talks is questionable.

It is quite natural for Korea to place its nuclear facilities under inspection by the international institution, because Pyongyang has signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty which calls for the signatory to do it. It is equally natural for Korea to demand that Japan pay compensation for the losses incurred during its occupation of Korea.

Moreover, given the fact that other Asian countries have already received such compensation from Japan, the DPRK's demand for compensation is quite appropriate.

It is, however, unreasonable to try to settle such issues by hinting at the use of force or giving an ultimatum, as I have already pointed out.

The parties to talks should begin with discussion before anything else and then show willingness to offer mutually acceptable compromises.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Further on Australian Foreign Minister's Visit

Meets With Silayev

LD2111233791 Moscow TASS in English 2202 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—Matters concerning Soviet-Australian trade and economic cooperation in various fields were discussed on Thursday [21 November] by Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, and Gareth Evans, Australian minister of foreign affairs and trade.

The minister emphasised Australia's readiness to promote successful realisation of economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

Evans is currently in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

Ends Moscow Part of Visit

LD2111233891 Moscow TASS in English 2306 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS— Gareth Evans, Australian minister of foreign affairs and trade, has completed the Moscow phase of his official visit to the Soviet Union. Before arriving in the Soviet capital he visited Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Alma Ata, Tashkent, Samarkand and St. Petersburg.

The Australian minister on Thursday [21 November] had talks with his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze. They exchanged views on matters concerning Soviet-Australian relations and on a wide range of topical international and regional problems.

Evans emphasised that Australia fully supports fundamental transformations in the Soviet Union and expresses confidence that the present political, economic and social difficulties will be overcome. He reaffirmed the Australian Government's readiness to give economic and humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union to the best of the country's ability.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the course of the development of Soviet-Australian relations and pointed out the existence of good prospects for raising them to a new, higher level. The Australian minister declared in favour of developing bilateral relations with the Soviet Union both at the federal level and with individual republics and regions, particularly with the Far East.

The discussion of international issues confirmed the community of the sides' views and approaches to solutions to the key problems of our times.

They stated an intention to further interaction and cooperation with a view to raising the role and effectiveness of the United Nations Organisation, promoting a solution to the problems of disarmament, primarily nuclear and chemical one, and looking for ways to ensure stability and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Evans will visit Kiev on Friday [22 November] and will meet with the leaders of the Ukraine.

Shaposhnikov Receives New Zealand's Ambassador

LD2111165491 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—"We have discussed New Zealand-Soviet relations in general and have agreed that there are big opportunities to develop them", Gerald McGee, ambassador of New Zealand to the USSR, told TASS today after his meeting with Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov added that the ambassador highly assessed the Soviet stand on lessening tension in Asia and South Pacific.

North East & South Asia

First Round of Talks With Mujahidin Assessed

OW2111200391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1832 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Last week's talks with Afghan anti-government rebels in Moscow have left more questions unanswered than cleared up. Nobody, even the negotiators themselves can say definitely when or where they will meet next time to have more discussions, or how the agreements already achieved will be implemented.

For Soviet and Russian diplomats it was a hard test. For the first time they had to negotiate with those who have been this country's ideological, political even military adversaries. An official at the South West Asia department of the USSR Foreign Ministry has the impression that the differences between the two sides were in some cases a result of different mentalities and ethnic characters. Besides, the rebels' delegation represented only part of the Afghan opposition and had no authority to discuss a whole range of questions brought up at the talks.

For instance, there has been no answer to the Soviet proposal for sending a liaison mission to Peshawar. The rebels reacted coolly to the idea of forming a permanent body for mutual consultations. A senior Soviet diplomat says this may be so because they had no sanctions from Pakistan to that effect.

In a situation like that the Soviet delegation found the proposal for establishing a joint machinery for future talks, included in the bilateral statement, quite enough. It remains to be seen what the mechanism will look like and how it will operate. However, the senior Soviet diplomat is certain that both sides can form permanent delegations.

The diplomat says the Soviet side would like to do business with an Afghan delegation having all appropriate powers and representing a "more or less wide spectrum of the opposition circles." As far as a future Soviet delegation is concerned, it must be permanent, too, and include representatives from foreign policy agencies of the Union and from sovereign states, in the first place, those in Central Asia.

The Soviet delegation put a particular emphasis on the question of the prisoners of war. The rebels are reported to have tried to play it down. A Soviet participant in the talks says Moscow suggested forming a trilateral commission of representatives from the rebels, Kabul and Moscow in order to promote the release of prisoners of war, both Soviet citizens and supporters of the armed opposition. In view of bleak chances to reconcile the rebels with the Najibollah regime another option was tabled—that for a bilateral commission including rebel leaders and Moscow officials, in which the United Nations or the International Red Cross could take part.

The rebels confined themselves to saying they were prepared to discuss these questions with Moscow without Kabul. A senior Soviet diplomat believes one should not count on the release of all prisoners of war, unless Kabul joins the process, for the future of imprisoned rebels depends on it.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry has said quite definitely that military supplies to Kabul will end as of January 1 next year, under a joint Soviet-US Statement, which also obliges the United States to do so towards the rebels. However, authoritative Soviet diplomatic sources have made it quite clear that Moscow will stop the supplies earlier, if the rebels make concessions on the prisoners of war issue.

Indian Minister Fails To Resolve 'Problems'

OW2111233491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1832 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Indian Foreign Minister Madhavsinh Solanki's visit to Moscow seems to have failed to resolve all of the problems that have piled up in Soviet-Indian relations over the past few years. Mr Solanki spoke about those problems quite frankly at a news conference. Among other things he mentioned the ruble-rupee exchange rate, delays in the supplies of fuel from the Soviet Union to India and some aspects of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the military field.

Mr Solanki gained President Gorbachev's support on all of those issues. The Soviet president issued instructions to have these problems resolved as soon as possible. The question is who will be responsible for that: irrelevant union structures or republican ones emerging in their place.

A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official has told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that problems in Soviet-Indian relations can be tackled in earnest only when the inter-republican economic committee gains strength, the powers of Union and republican bodies are divided and the question of responsibility for the debts of the previous Union is settled.

Whatever the case, Soviet and Indian experts will meet in Moscow shortly (probably, next month) to be faced with a daunting task. The agreement to hold that meeting is probably the sole specific result of the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Moscow.

West Europe

Spokesman on Shaposhnikov Talks in Germany

PM2111152791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Nov 91 Second Edition p 2

[Major M. Pogorelyy report: "In the Interests of Europe's Security"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Valeriy Manilov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Information Directorate, conducted a briefing yesterday on the subject of the USSR defense minister's visit to the FRG 11-13 November.

General Manilov noted that the visit took place in an exceptionally friendly and warm atmosphere, and bore witness to the fact in the center of Europe, in Germany—a NATO state in which two recently hostile armies "coexist" today— "not only an open dialogue, but an absolutely constructive one too" is completely possible.

In Germany, Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov assured both Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg that the Soviet Union guarantees that the plans and schedules for withdrawing our troops from German territory will be met. The USSR minister of defense also confirmed once more that not a single item of nuclear ammunition remains on German territory.

For his part, H. Kohl expressed "perplexity and concern" at the attempts by former components of the Union to set up their own armed forces. He expressed the conviction that the processes of disintegration in the military sphere are fraught with unpredictable and cataclysmic consequences and should be "halted by sensible democratic means."

Both countries' defense ministers came to the conclusion that a further broadening of cooperation not only at the level of the leadership, but also at the level of other structures in the Armed Forces is desirable and necessary. In Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov's opinion there is sense in, for example, developing contacts now between cadets and lieutenants so that by the time they become generals and admirals—tomorrow's military commanders—they will have no problems in reaching mutual understanding with one another.

As Lieutenant General Manilov reported, questions of military and technical cooperation were also discussed during the visit. Thus the German side's request to organize, in particular, deliveries of spare parts for combat hardware of Soviet manufacture in the Bundeswehr arsenal, for example for the MiG-29 fighters, was met with understanding.

It was emphasized at the briefing that the development of relations between our two countries, including in the realm of defense, objectively serves the interests of formating a reliable non-bloc system of collective security in Europe.

Honecker Extradition Issue Assessed

PM2111150491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 4

[Report by correspondent Ye. Grigoryev: "Honecker—Bone of Contention? The View From Bonn"]

[Excerpts] It has long been known that we are past masters at creating problems for ourselves. Even interstate problems. We can now add to this last category the so-called "Honecker affair," which arose because last spring the Soviet side spirited the former head of the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and GDR out of German territory and into Moscow, although he was wanted by the investigative organs of united Germany.

Several humanitarian arguments could be cited to justify this action and the special patronage that our country has accorded Honecker: his antifascist past (including 10 years in a Hitlerite concentration camp), his advanced age—nearly 80, his poor health, and so forth. But it is hard to find any legal justifications for the decision at that time to take Erich Honecker out of Germany by Soviet military aircraft and to provide him with a "safe conduct" in Moscow. Especially since at the time he did not even request political asylum.

One way or another, the "Honecker affair" has become a stumbling block. Bonn is legally justified in demanding the return of its citizen. The Russian Government, as is well known, has agreed to this request. But in this instance the decision rests with the USSR president, and he and those speaking on his behalf cite humanitarian factors. So the circle closes. But the problem does not go away. In view of the difference of opinion between the Kremlin and the Russian White House, it is, as people here observe, acquiring an internal political aspect too, although additional problems are the last thing that is needed now, at this stage of preparing the new Union treaty. [passage omitted]

It is well known that state interests are usually considered weightier than personal obligations or other circumstances. Good partnership relations and cooperation with Germany are undoubtedly in the interests of the future Union, the sovereign republics, and all our country's peoples. So should they be complicated by the "Honecker problem"?

Let me note in conclusion that the former GDR leader himself, if he were to return voluntarily, is scarcely in danger of finding himself imprisoned in a dungeon, without modern medical treatment, and so forth. It is possible that, after receiving legal satisfaction, they will release him and some of the other "has-beens" on bail. Legal experts here admit that it will be very difficult to try Honecker. The GDR laws, on the basis of which such trials are organized, do not offer indisputable grounds for this. This has often caused such judicial investigations to end in fiasco.

KGB Reportedly Uncovers Wallenberg Documents

PM1911124491 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 18 Nov 91 p 9

[Thomas Hamberg TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA report: "New Wallenberg Documents Uncovered"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—New papers relating to the case of missing Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg continue to surface. At the last two meetings of the Swedish-Soviet commission investigating Wallenberg's fate previously

unknown documents relating to the case have been handed over to the Swedish side.

But there are more. According to information given to TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA, the KGB has uncovered a further 58 documents which could throw light on the political and diplomatic side of the mystery.

The new discoveries are a direct result of the attempted coup d'etat in August. The documents come from the archives of the CPSU Headquarters in Moscow which were confiscated on the orders of Russian President Yeltsin.

"They do not provide any answers about what actually happened to Wallenberg personally. But they make a contribution to the picture of how the Soviet side handled the case diplomatically and how Moscow viewed Sweden's notes and inquiries," said TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA's source, who has links with both the KGB and the party's now dissolved Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Cooperation Seminar With France Opens 21 Nov

OW2111191191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Over the nine months of 1991 the combined GNP of the ex-Soviet republics dropped 12 [percent] to the 1985 level, oil output fell by 41 mn [million] metric tons, and coal production, by 57 mn tons, said Academician Leonid Abalkin at the inauguration of a seminar with the participation of a delegation of the Conseil National du Patronat Francais on Thursday [21 November]. Participating in the seminar is Michel Freyche [as received], president of the Banque Francaise du Commerce Exterieur, politicians and economic leaders from 8 sovereign republics.

According to Mr Abalkin, even if the most energetic actions are taken to improve the economic situation, the crisis can only begin to ease in 1.5 to 2 years. Today the situation is compounded by a "gap between scholarly thought and political decisions" and this gap may be narrowed by new structures, including the USSR President's Entrepreneurship Council.

Mr Freyche said in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] that western partners would be glad to see a dialogue between the ex-Soviet republics "on a serious economic and political level." He also said that Mr Yeltsin's statement that Russia was launching "shock therapy" came as a surprise not only to the Russian population but also to many European partners. This decision called into question the Economic Union Treaty and creates "an undesirable precedent of uncoordinated actions", said he.

According to Mr Freyche, the Conseil National will offer "funds and advice" to the sovereign republics on how to cope with the crisis. He assured that French business people were ready to deal with the republics, the centre, and the private sector.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Gorbachev's Irkutsk Visit

Calls Perestroyka 'Great Cause'

PM2211093891 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Special correspondent Anatoliy Yurkov report on interview with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev aboard plane en route for Irkutsk: "Our Well-Being and Fate of Perestroyka Suspended Between Heaven and Earth. Between Heaven and Earth at an Altitude of 10,000 Meters Was Also the Scene of Our Conversation on That Theme With President M. Gorbachev During Flight From Moscow to Irkutsk"]

[Text] "I have given a lot of thought to whether perestroyka is a great event or a catastrophe," Mikhail Sergeyevich said, recalling what had prompted him to draw such a paradoxical comparison. "And I have come to a clear conclusion: We have begun a great cause and must see it through to the end. My conscience is clear."

The telephone in the lounge of the presidential plane began to ring, drowning the steady roar of the engines penetrating even this insulated room between heaven and earth. The duty officer, covering his mouth with his hand, spoke into the receiver, then hurried over to the president and whispered something into his ear. Moving rapidly among us, Mikhail Sergeyevich went to the phone and began to ask questions quietly. His expression was one of alarm and, it seemed, horror. We could not hear what he was talking about but his anxiety was suddenly and invisibly conveyed to us.

"Has something happened, Mikhail Sergeyevich?"

"I will tell you right now," he said wearily, in no hurry to report the alarming news to us. "That was Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin on the phone. A helicopter has crashed in Nagorno-Karabakh. There were over 20 people on board: people's deputies, members of the Azerbaijan Government, representatives of the Internal Affairs Ministry. They were flying to talks to settle the conflict."

"They are all dead?"

"Apparently," the president replied, his gaze on something a long way from us. "It cannot be ruled out now that someone will try to use this tragedy for certain purposes."

"But how did it happen?"

The same thought clearly worried us as it did him: that there is shooting in the region of the protracted interethnic conflict. Sometimes aimed at any moving target, be it a goat, a man, or a vehicle.

"Bakatin says that the helicopter commander maintained contact the whole time. His final report was: 'Dense fog...' 'I cannot see anything in the fog...' and that was the last communication with him."

"Heavens, what a disaster," someone in the lounge said.

Again the president's attention left us for a few moments, his thoughts were elsewhere, then he said with conviction:

"Political speculators cannot be allowed to exploit this disaster for their own ends."

The president's plane was already descending smoothly when one of his aides gave us the signal: time to wind up. Below us flickered the dim lights of Irkutsk at midnight, the illuminated sign in the lounge had long given the order to fasten our seat belts and put out our cigarettes but we still could not leave our conversation with the president.

Above the seat where the country's president sat, the pale gold coat of arms of a great power stood out and before us this sincere and trustworthy man, casually dressed in a patterned woollen cardigan, his shirt unbuttoned, with no tie, and with tired wrinkles around the eyes, was unburdening his soul. At times what he said was glaringly at odds with his look and was defiantly irresistible, like the conviction of a fanatic. But this was no fanatic sitting before us, but someone fanatical in his own way and a sober politician who has roused a once great country to a great breakthrough: One who, in those five years, has lived through so many stressful moments, so much misunderstanding, rejection, and even treachery that for someone else even the smallest thing would have been enough to knock him down, never to rise or stand up straight again.

But clearly in his life there have been more gains than losses, more happy minutes than disillusionments—it is they which give him the strength to bear his cross.

He did not refuse to answer a single question, with which we plagued him for two hours.

"Why are you going to Irkutsk? Another appearance before the people?"

"There is nothing unusual in this trip. We have begun real reforms—economic and political. But the reforms will succeed only in the Union of Sovereign States. I want to ask people about that and listen to them. And to understand."

"More speeches?"

"No way. I would very much like not to have to talk a lot. I have already said a great deal. But I would like us to win people's support and trust in the cause of building the new state on the basis of the Union treaty. People understand the need for restructuring but they do not understand why we are wasting time."

"And they have had it up to here with mistakes."

"Yes, there have been mistakes caused by objective factors and there is nothing you can do when, for example, we take an unexplored path and no one in the world knows how to travel along it. But we have also been making, so to speak, subjective mistakes. The whole world knows that if the decision has been made to switch to new prices, that ought to be announced within 24 hours at the most."

"In a few hours, Mikhail Sergeyevich."

"Yes, in any event, no earlier than the day before. The whole world knows this. We know it, too."

"Since Ryzhkov's time."

"Precisely. But again we are repeating the greatest mistake, one which threatens to really ruin the process that has begun."

I thought to myself: Clearly, Mikhail Sergeyevich and his team have seriously considered and analyzed the latest steps of the reform if he returns time and again to analyzing them. He is convinced and did not hide the fact that he is trying to convert us and all his fellow citizens to his faith: The success of the reforms is inseparable from an economic and political Union of Sovereign States—in a confederative state. The driving force of the economic transformations is the material interest of the producer. Any producer—the cooperative producer, the private producer, the lease holder. But especially the state enterprise worker. Everyone must be given equal conditions to make it possible to compare the labor of the first, the second, and the third.

With good reason the president stresses the special position of the state enterprise worker: In the present unequal economic situation he has been left poor and naked—the paralysis of economic ties often due to the distorted implementation of the idea of sovereignty has left teams, shops, sometimes even whole plants without work.

"State enterprise workers are already saying," the president said with alarm, "that the August putsch will look like a child's game if we take to the streets. Everyone must be given the opportunity to get on with their work."

"Mikhail Sergeyevich, what actually happened last week at Novo-Ogarevo?"

"You saw...."

"But what did we not see?"

Then he became agitated and impassioned:

"I have nothing to hide. The second period of labor at Novo-Ogarevo was agonizing. Now it is possible to reveal a little of what happened. For two and a half hours we debated: Should it be a Union or a Union state? My position is clear: Without the Union state we will not implement any reforms. A Union of Sovereign States without a Union as a state is a step toward a Yugoslav tragedy."

He became so agitated that he fell silent and merely transfixed each of us with his gaze. Then, with a steady and quiet voice, he answered definitively:

"Only a Union state will lead us out of the present quagmire and can restore order across the entire economic area. If there is no Union state, I will not take part in the discussion. You may continue it if you want to. But without me. But when I leave this meeting I will go to society and the people and tell them why I am doing this."

Gorbachev again fell silent for a few moments and went on:

"I did not use my position to blackmail anyone. We were all elected to these posts, I said to everyone sitting at that table with me at Novo-Ogarevo. I was elected before you. So I shall be the first to leave. But you will receive a Union in which it will be impossible to carry out reforms if this Union is not a state in the international arena."

Many blame him for the destruction of the Union. But among today's politicians I know of no other who would have fought with such conviction and fervor for its preservation in a new quality. The preservation of the Union as a state, not a center that issues directives. Perhaps it is simply that people do not know about these battles of Gorbachev's and he does not like to work in public, he cannot stand those who pose as the simple man. He is ready to try to persuade the whole world, the whole country, each of us.

...After Bakatin's alarming call our conversation flagged somewhat and went on without enthusiasm. And then it appeared—the runway with its lights.

In Irkutsk, Gorbachev, of course, will champion the cause of conversion since the main visit is to the aviation plant which produces the famous Su and MiG planes. And he will champion the cause of the Union as a single economic and political area. Only a Union like that, together with the market, will give us work and prosperity.

Gorbachev is convinced of that. Will Irkutsk understand him? Will it accept his point of view? The president hopes so.

Willing To End Presidential Candidacy

LD2111143891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, who arrived in Irkutsk today, has visited a major aircraft factory which produces the multipurpose Su-27 fighters. At a meeting with the management of the enterprise, and speaking about problems of the conversion of the defense industry, he called for the utilization of all opportunities to reprofile the

aircraft plant for the production of civilian aircraft, and, to this end, more actively to seek foreign partners.

The Union president said that the recently lifted prohibition on the export of modern MiG-29 and Su-27 fighters will make it possible for the Irkutsk aircraft factory to continue to produce combat aircraft which, in his words, are in demand on the world market.

The president refuted the assertion that he is seeking to preserve the Union with a single political center just for himself. I am prepared to renounce putting forward my candidacy for the post of president of the country to prove that my striving for a political union between the republics is not directed at preserving the post of president for myself, Gorbachev stated.

In his words, the nationwide elections for the head of the state which will replace the USSR may be held no earlier than the middle of next year.

Stresses 'Political Union'

OW2111153791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Having arrived in Irkutsk on Thursday [21 November], President Mikhail Gorbachev visited the local plant which produces multi-purpose fighter planes Su-27. Discussing problems connected with converting the defence industry with the leaders of the plant, he urged them to use every opportunity to switch to the production of civilian planes and, to gain this goal, search for partners abroad more vigorously. At the same time M. Gorbachev said that the country's leadership shares the fears of defence industry workers that cuts in the output of military equipment will entail grave social consequences.

The recent lifting of the ban on the exports of advanced fighter planes MiG-29 and Su-27 will enable the aircraft-making plant in Irkutsk to go on with the production of combat planes which are in demand in the world market, said the USSR president.

The deputy chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee Arkadiy Volsky who is accompanying M. Gorbachev told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that the export of Su-27s whose mass production began in 1988 to concrete countries is a question of policy, and the final decision on this issue is to be made next week.

During the meeting the USSR president dwelled on the need to preserve political union between republics that used to make up the USSR. Social trends in the country acquired a "very dangerous nature in the wake of the August coup, [no end quotes as received] said M. Gorbachev. According to him, republics have already got convinced that no economic reforms can be accomplished in the USSR without political union between them.

When talking with newsmen M. Gorbachev referred to the civil war in Yugoslavia. If the USSR disintegrates, he said, it will face the same prospect.

President Gorbachev sets great hopes on the upcoming initialling of the Union treaty which provides for maintaining the central leadership and government that would control unified armed forces as well as coordinate foreign policy and the performance of basic industries.

The president told newsmen accompanying him that he intends to fight for the reforms launched in 1985 till he wins. "I want to carry through the idea of renovation through reforms, [no end quotes as received] he said.

Nevertheless M. Gorbachev said once again that if certain limits are overstepped, he will resign. The president dismissed the allegations that he wants to preserve the Union with a single political center solely for his own sake. "I am prepared to decline to be nominated as a candidate for presidential elections in order to prove that my endeavours to ensure political union between republics are not aimed at preserving the post of president for myself", said M. Gorbachev. According to him, the general elections of the head of the state that will replace the USSR can be held no earlier than the middle of next year.

Today M. Gorbachev is visiting Irkutsk's hospital for children to which he donated 350,000 dollars earned as fees for his books printed abroad.

The program of his trip also includes a meeting with the leadership of Irkutsk region which recently proclaimed its intention to seek much greater powers for the government of the big industrial area in Siberia.

Meets Residents, Discusses 'Worries'

LD2111164991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] In Irkutsk, many inhabitants of this major Siberian city had the chance today to talk to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev about everything that worries or alarms them.

Despite the five-hour time difference, Gorbachev filled his work day to the maximum. The fact that the head of state gives top priority to social problems was confirmed by his visit to one of the city's schools. The school's approximately 1,500 pupils began their first academic year at the school this autumn. Mikhail Gorbachev visited the classrooms and play areas, and spoke with the pupils, their teachers, and school officials. Particular attention was paid to problems of improving the secondary education system. Schools are one of the chief priorities of a society that has embarked upon the path of radical transformations, the president stressed.

The conversations Gorbachev held in the workshops of the Irkutsk aircraft construction association, a leading defense complex enterprise, lasted almost two hours. They once again showed the complexity and vastness of

the problems related to converting even the leading plants of an industry that the country built up over many years at the expense of self-deprivation and sacrifice. The transfer of part of the capacities to the production of civilian products in acute demand by the people and the economy entails both technical and major social changes.

The president said that the enterprise can only gain from the fact that it is increasing its output of aircraft for civilian and special purpose uses. Due to their high quality, there are openings for them on both the internal and the world markets. The association has opportunities in this regard.

Comments on CPSU Links to Coup

LD2111173491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1553 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondents Boris Grishchenko and Vladimir Khodiy]

[Text] Irkutsk, 21 Nov (TASS)—I have insisted and continue to insist that the millions of ordinary CPSU members are not implicated in the August coup, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev stated today as he replied to questions from the inhabitants of Irkutsk, where he arrived late last night.

Practically the whole day of the visit by the country's president to this major center in Siberia has been packed with meetings and conversations with inhabitants of the town.

Mikhail Gorbachev spent almost two hours on the shop floor of the Irkutsk aircraft construction association, a leading enterprise in the defense complex. The overwhelming majority of questions to the president concerned problems of conversion. Fundamental technical and social changes are attendant factors in the transition to civilian production.

Having listened to what the working people, the engineers, and the constructors had to say, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized the importance of setting the conversion process in good order. He stated that the enterprise will only gain from the fact that this will speed up the production of aircraft both for civilian and for special aviation purposes. Because of its high quality, it will open up both the domestic and the world markets.

The president stated that we have only one realistic answer, one way out of this most difficult situation: to stimulate the worker producing the product and to pour capital into the industries working for the market and for the consumer.

Many bitter words were spoken to the president during his visit to the town's trade enterprises. The emptiness of the shelves and the lines are not conducive to calm conversations.

Central TV Details Visit

LD2111204991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Defense enterprises will be rescued only by conversion, and, in the conditions of the approaching market, the family will be rescued only by the opportunity to earn good money. Millions of rank-and-file members of the CPSU were not involved in the August putsch. This has been stated in Irkutsk by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Here is a report by our special correspondent Slipchenko.

[Begin recording] Early this morning the day was cold and clear. It seemed that the mood would be similar, but that was not the way it turned out.

This is School No. 47 in Irkutsk. A total of 1,500 children are brought here from all over the town, but normal schooling for all the town's schoolchildren requires 18 such schools, according to unofficial information. The school was handed over in October and not in September as scheduled. It was built by the whole town. The construction of other schools was even halted. When I asked why this show was necessary, I was told: well, it has come in useful.

In the 10th class, the children specialize in economics. This is why Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev lingered here. It is precisely such specialists that are presently so essential for our economy.

In this small factory museum, we saw old and new production. The Irkutsk aircraft factory is the one that gives us the Su-27. For that reason, we were forbidden to film here, even though the plane has long been on sale in the West and has been to all the latest air shows. At the factory, Mikhail Sergeyevich inspected the cafeteria and a modern plant, and it was while he was moving about that the hottest conversations took place.

If only I had known it would be so hard to live, a woman said to the president. I gave birth to three children; if I had known, I would not have bothered. Of course, people are outraged by the prices of both food and manufactured goods. People are incensed by the fact that everything that is made at state enterprises is sold at commercial prices. As a result, it became clear that, both in Moscow and in Irkutsk, the situation is the same: The standard of living is falling at the same time.

When the president met workers in the lecture hall, though, the most varied questions were asked—about help for Afghanistan, which costs us R [rubles] 5,000 million a year; about the production of new technology by the factory, which is possible only in 1996; and about supply. Components come to the factory from 205 enterprises.

This non-protocol schedule is a good illustration of the president's Irkutsk trip. The whole town wants to talk to the country's leader—from children who are missing school for the occasion, to the fathers of Irkutsk. Nothing is being hidden from Gorbachev, so unswept streets and empty counters form the backgound to his current trip.

The windows of a private shop belonging to the Oktyabr joint-stock company, to which Gorbachev was taken today, look like a Soviet paradise. Aleksandr Korolkov, one of the owners of the establishment, did not conceal his capitalist achievements from Mikhail Sergeyevich, though he did bemoan the fact that, although they are hired workers, some sales staff steal, evidently through force of habit. Anyway, people living nearby are happy with the shop despite the still unusual prices. Gorbachev gave his approval to the businessmen's undertakings.

Judging by the route of his visits, the president has set himself an extra task: to study the whole social cross-section of Siberia and to get acquainted with most extreme opinions. Therefore, the next stop was at the Veterans' Council of the Irkutsk Oblast. Every sixth person in this region of 3,000,000 people is retired, and 70,000 of them receive only R93 a month. If the whole country is unhappy about the market shock therapy, elderly people might simply get a blow below the belt. For example, at a meeting with Gorbachev today, retired Lieutenant General Vladimir Bezbokov, chairman of the Veterans' Council, told me in secret that he had been unable to buy bread for the last three days. Veterans have a good reason to have an informal association.

The president listened attentively to all complaints. After that, a conversation suddenly changed to an old subject.

[Gorbachev] They consider that the captain was the first to leave the ship and so on and so forth. The captain has betrayed everything and now even PRAVDA abuses me and letters which are sent to me.... [changes thought] Well, you know, I have been the chairman of the Supreme Soviet for how many of the last years, for four years already, and the president, and it was time to go. But I saw how difficult it was for the party. Oh, I held on until the end in order for the party to come to a new program, to a new democratic situation, and so that communists could feel themselves to be in charge. This was the idea. All this was in the new program.

[Slipchenko] The president and veterans agreed on the opinion that anti-communism is inadmissible today as much as any persecution of people for their convictions. There were no political disagreements at this table.

If here Mikhail Sergeyevich comforted pensioners only with words, then for these babies in the oblast children's clinical hospital the president provided real aid. One of his royalties, amounting to $350,000, he gave to the Irkutsk public health service. With this money, modern medical equipment has been installed. They say that Gorbachev came to the clinic to check how his money had been spent. Meanwhile, the management of the hospital, taking the opportunity, handed to Mikhail Sergeyevich a list to acquire new medical equipment amounting to the sum of $1 million. [end recording]

Supports Yeltsin's Economic Reforms

OW2111182791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev supported the Russian President Boris Yeltsin's economic reform and said that he believed in the possibility of the stabilisation of the country's economic situation "after a period of difficulties" that is inevitable during radical transformations. Speaking to the administration and enterprises in Irkutsk region on Thursday [21 November], Mr Gorbachev said determination and coordinated actions by all Soviet republics could make or break the reforms.

"None of the republics, Russia included, cannot cope with the crisis on its own," emphasized Mr Gorbachev who said that he would insist on synchronized actions by all the republics.

Dealing with the position of the Irkutsk region which, says its council chairman Viktor Ignatenko, wants to become a state entity as part of the Russian Federation, the Soviet president said that this issue was within Russia's terms of reference and its legal aspect required to be worked at.

On Friday Mr Gorbachev will visit Lake Baykal, the world's deepest lake that contains 20% of the world's stock of potable water and is faced with acute environmental problems.

Thereafter Mr Gorbachev will fly to Kyrgyzstan.

Views Defense Sector as 'Tumor'

LD2211003191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Report from Irkutsk by correspondent Gerasimov; from the "TV Inform" Newscast]

[Text] [Video shows meeting in progress at unspecified location] In the evening journalists thought that what was going on in this hall reminded them of the good old days. The speakers talked of their plans, production, losses, asking to have their debt of 10 million rubles written off. The problems were addressed to the president, and they had to be tackled immediately. Many questions were delegated to the committee for operational planning which, incidentally, is no longer in existence. The results were summed up by Gorbachev. He clearly outlined economic and political tasks and confirmed, of course, that life has become hard, very hard. This is how our country still lives, in his opinion.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Who said that the Union has disintegrated? I will put this bluntly to you. That which is rooted in our society is what is still sustaining this country. True, that process is still going on and it carries the kind of dangers of which we have not even dreamt. But the powerful inertia which has taken shape in this Union is what is holding us together. This Union is old but it is still holding us together. If we lose this inertia, and fail to resolve the questions in a fresh way and achieve a new Union treaty, then we will sink to such depths that we will, for sure, never be able to get out of them without measures that will cost dear to the people, society, the country, and the world. What we must say now is that there is no power in this country and that there is a real judicial crisis in the state. Irkutsk Oblast is now arguing with Russia and autonomies are arguing even more. What must be understood is that it is time to stop enjoying the rows over which part belongs where and who has won the game and so on and so forth. That is not what is at issue. Enough of political games.

There is something else I would like to say—about conversion. True, we have produced 64,000 tanks. That is more than all the tanks produced by the whole of the rest of the world. Now we do not know what to do with the tank works and with the tanks. Just imagine how much in all was spent on all this. That is only one example. But what about the whole mountain of nuclear weapons that has piled up? So now we need billions for disarmament and for disposing them. Yet it is our duty to dismantle them. That is a horribly necessary business, requiring the best personnel, the best funds, the best scientists, the best designers, the best science and the best technology. How is all this possible? The military-industrial complex is convinced. No, they say, we have ruled this state and made decisions, and that is how we are to carry on. We thought so: These things will not work out. Yet, as you can see, the people have judged differently. They have worked out. And now you dare to say and shout that somebody must take the blame. After all the negotiations on strategic offensive weapons went on in Geneva for 10 years. It is just that you thought that you would be able to break your spine with your forehead [as heard]. That must be stated in no uncertain terms. How can we carry on with this tumor in the form of the defense sector consuming all of the resources of this economy. No, conversion must be developed. But that does not mean that we do not understand the importance of state security, of the Armed Forces and strategy. We understand it, and the world understands it, wanting us to be as strong as a pillar of the contemporary world—the world that is undergoing deep changes. [end recording]

Aviation Plant Meeting Viewed

PM2111211191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Special correspondents G. Alimov and V. Sbitnev report: "Gorbachev is in Siberia. Yeltsin is in Germany. The People Are Waiting in Line. President Faces Many Questions in Irkutsk But is Received Cordially"]

[Text] Irkutsk— At 0200 hours local time on 21 November USSR President Gorbachev touched down in Irkutsk. His meetings with the population of this large Siberian city began at 1000 hours.

On the plane, in conversation with the journalists accompanying him, M.S. Gorbachev acknowledged that the conversations in store for him with the people would probably not be the easiest but that he is open to such frank talking. The president said that he is going there "not to deliver prepared speeches but to listen to people and try to share their concerns." And we journalists equally frankly shared with him our fear that it is better not even to think about warm meetings.

From the very first contacts with M.S. Gorbachev, the Siberians were very amicable but behaved with dignity and sought to involve their guest in a discussion of the most acute problems.

The president scored a success, in our view, when he visited the Irkutsk aviation plant, where the world-famous Su-27 and MiG-29 aircraft are produced. The visit, which was scheduled to last an hour according to the program, did not end until two and one-half hours later. The president was assailed from all sides and in all the shops. But the guest did not give the impression that he had come there for a pleasant stroll.

The workers are mainly worried about the enterprise's future. They told the president anxiously that because of the disruption of economic ties their production unit has been in turmoil for five or six years now and they do not know today what they will produce in January and February next year, in what quantity, or how much they will earn. The workers need to be clear about what will happen to them and their families tomorrow, and many are afraid of losing their jobs.

"The greatest problem today," the president replied, "is our economy but an even greater problem is that it is distorted in favor of the defense sector. We have built more tanks than the rest of the world—64,000 tanks. It is as though we were intending to go to war again. My view of the aviation sector is that it is a sector that can be developed in the direction of civilian output. After all, our country does not have enough planes and in the world we can cooperate with foreign firms and enter the international market in a big way. Thus part of the order will be reserved for defense aims and another part will be able to be sold in the world market. And finally we must give very serious thought to civil aircraft."

The defense sector has great potential, M. Gorbachev went on to say, it employs many of the most skilled specialists, it has the best engineers and scientists, it also has the best fixed capital. The need now is to find precise solutions to help the enormous collective concentrated in the defense sector.

Then M. Gorbachev was invited to the plant's conference hall. The audience of over 500 stood and applauded his arrival, something which has not been observed recently. Possibly this was a gesture of respect for a guest, but even after the one-hour meeting the audience applauded him.

He was asked about everything: "How can we go on living without the basics?"; "Why is the country in such a state?"; interethnic relations and the problem of the Crimea; the future of the Union....

"Disintegration has left us paralyzed," M. Gorbachev said. "A disintegrated state destroys all society. We need a superstructure in the form of a Union state—without that the economic reforms will misfire."

After the meeting at the plant, the president was supposed to go to a privately-owned store in another part of the city. But scarcely had the motorcade left the aviation plant when it stopped opposite a food store. This was an unscheduled stop. The president's ZIL minibus was instantly surrounded by local residents, women with children, and pensioners. The president had to endure a hail of very difficult and unpleasant questions.

In the afternoon there was a scheduled visit to the pediatric center, to whose refurbishment Mikhail Sergeyevich has donated $350,000 from his book royalties. The schedule also includes a meeting with veterans and a discussion at the House of the Soviets with oblast leaders, people's deputies, and economic managers....

Visits Classrooms, Laboratories

LD2211094391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0805 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Grishchenko and Vladimir Khodiy]

[Text] Irkutsk, 22 Nov (TASS)—The country's president began the second day of his stay in this important center of Siberia with a visit to the Irkutsk higher engineering aviation school. Mikhail Gorbachev visited classrooms and laboratories, talked to students and teachers, and expressed interest in the organization of the teaching process and the technical basis of the military school.

The head of state then made a working trip to Baykal. He had a meeting with ecologists and public representatives. During the exchange of opinions, concern was shown for the fate of Siberia's unique lake. It was confirmed that the range of measures to protect Baykal, which has already been mapped out, is in need of constant and effective monitoring by enterprises, local authorities, and environmental protection bodies.

Gorbachev, Shevardnadze Ties 'Severe Test'

OW2111193691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1832 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze are together again. "You know, our relationship has been put to a severe test," President Gorbachev said introducing the newly appointed minister to a collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry. What brought them together again was the putsch predicted by Mr Shevardnadze and the changes it wrought in Mr Gorbachev's attitudes.

"The President has drawn important conclusions for himself from the events of last August," said Mr Shevardnadze. "Now I can work with him." They could, in fact, have got together immediately after the putsch, but either Mr Gorbachev or Shevardnadze, or possibly both of them, missed the opportunity. When Aleksandr Bessmertnykh resigned, the Foreign Ministry staff asked Mr Gorbachev to give the post to Mr Shevardnadze and tried to persuade the latter to accept it if Mr Gorbachev was willing. But the president gave preference to Boris Pankin, with whom, he said, he had been in the Komsomol together when both of them were young.

The three months which Mr Pankin spent in the skyscraper on Smolenskaya Square will go down in the history of Soviet diplomacy as the last days of the former Soviet Foreign Ministry and as the shortest term of office for a Soviet Foreign Minister. Now it is absolutely clear that the president's choice was a continuation of the "incorrect appointments policy" he had been criticised for after the putsch. Mr Gorbachev's "old Komsomol comrade" was rejected by both the Foreign Ministry staff and—what was probably worse—by the sovereign republics. Boris Yeltsin and other leaders were willing to have a modified version of the Union Foreign Ministry—but without Mr Pankin.

The President couldn't leave his old friend in the lurch and offered him the post of state counsellor on foreign affairs. But Mr Pankin apparently feared this would turn him into a barely noticeable shadow of Mr Shevardnadze and probably realised that any such post was very insecure under the present circumstances, so he must have thought it was a better idea to go to London as the Soviet ambassador—to replace Leonid Zamyatin, who had lost his face by supporting the putschists.

Thus Eduard Shevardnadze has moved back to his old office on the seventh floor of the building on Smolenskaya Square to implement what was his own idea, put forward some time ago—that the Foreign Ministry be merged with the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. "Many of our diplomats made no secret of their desire to have Shevardnadze as minister," the head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Vitaliy Churkin, said to our correspondent. "This

became obvious in August, when the staff was asking for his appointment to the post."

More on Shevardnadze Appointment, Activities

Hope for Future Expressed

LD2211030291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze is a consistent advocate of closer relations between Moscow and Washington. In his interview for Soviet television, broadcast on the day when his appointment was announced, he described as a major achievement the fact that the USSR and the United States were able to proceed from confrontation to cooperation, partnership, and interraction. He'll undoubtedly pursue the same line after his return to the leadership of the Soviet foreign policy. There is every indication that such certainty prevails among the Soviet and Americans alike. This is borne out by the White House reaction. The news from Moscow about Eduard Shevardnadze's appointment came at the time when President George Bush and the Secretary of State James Baker hosted yet another prominent Soviet official Aleksandr Yakovlev. During the photo session in the Oval Office, he said that Shevardnadze is known very well and is greatly respected: Baker and all the rest of us, Bush stressed, have respect for him, so, he added, he will work closely with him.

Aleksandr Yakovlev remarked that it's a good idea to say to the world community that the USSR is returning step by step to the position of democracy and (?good friend) policy. Of course, further on, as we have become accustomed for the last few years, bilateral relations will affect the international situation as a whole and yet now upon his return to the post of External Relations Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze will have to deal with relations with America and these ties are receiving a new dimension. [sentence as heard] These will be relations not only with the Union of Sovereign States which is to replace the USSR, but with each of these nations as well. The minister of external relations will have to coordinate the interests of these states and pursue a common policy of the Union toward both the United States and other countries. But speaking about the main sphere of bilateral relations Shevardnadze is to tackle, this will apparently be the coordination of practical measures to assist Soviet reforms.

As an advocate of democracy he is ringing alarm already today. (?And) he says that if efforts to prevent the situation in this country from worsening fail in the coming hard months, the right-wing elements can secure some popular support. In Shevardnadze's opinion, assistance from the United States and other Western countries to the USSR during the coming winter is in the interests of all. He emphasized in one of the recent interviews that an unstable Soviet Union is the most threat for the entire world—an unstable USSR now may be worse than a nuclear threat.

Bessmertnykh Hails Move

OW2111195091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1832 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The former successor to Eduard Shevardnadze as the USSR foreign minister, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, says that in the current complicated situation foreign and foreign economic policies must be in the hands of a person of great authority. Eduard Shevardnadze is most certainly the type. Bessmertnykh stepped down in the wake of the government coup in Moscow last August. Currently he is in charge of the Political Analysis Centre in Shevardnadze's Foreign Policy Association.

Bessmertnykh has told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that Shevardnadze owes his return to the high-rise building of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Smolenskaya Square to an open mind and professionalism. He described Shevardnadze as a top class diplomat and recalled that Shevardnadze was quick to master the profession.

Bessmertnykh believes that Shevardnadze's comeback is a favorable sign amid the onslaught of amateurism. He warns that professionals have been dropping out of the government machinery, only to be replaced by laymen. This is detrimental to the interests of the state. Bessmertnykh says that professionalism is one of the highest achievements of any statehood and must be protected in every possible way.

He believes that Shevardnadze is going to bring with him a major factor for stability. "In politics he is a man of bold views and balanced approaches. These qualities are essential to a foreign minister", Bessmertnykh said. "Free-and-easy radicalism is good at the microphone, and not in a government minister's office.

Besides, Bessmertnykh believes that in his new capacity Shevardnadze will play a positive role in domestic affairs. Shevardnadze will have to deal with the former Union republics, which have now become sovereign states. "Shevardnadze has a potential to unite them," Bessmertnykh said. An ethnic Georgian, he understands well what the nationalities policy is about. In this respect, his role can be very important, too.

Bessmertnykh quoted a number of facts that haven't received much publicity yet. For instance, Bessmertnykh says he asked Shevardnadze to refrain from resigning as Soviet Foreign Minister. When Bessmertnykh himself had to step down resign [as received] due to what he called an absurd situation in which he had found himself, he was one of the first to have called for Shevardnadze's return and even started a campaign to collect signatures in support of the call. "I have always had

confidence in Shevardnadze as a person who can and must play a worthy role in the history of this country," Bessmertnykh said.

Asked about the future of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association Bessmertnykh said he would like Shevardnadze to remain its President. "Why shouldn't a government minister be the president of a non-governmental organization at the same time?" he asked. Bessmertnykh also said whatever his future job he would always seek to promote the country's foreign policy. He says Shevardnadze is well aware of that.

Retention as Negotiating Head Sought

OW2111162291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1529 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Asked by a BF [BALTFAX] correspondent who would be his successor as head of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-Lithuanian negotiations, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that "nobody is better fit for the job than the Foreign Minister himself."

"But the final decision will have to be taken by the President," he added.

Meets French Official

LD2111193591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—USSR Minister of External Relations Eduard Shevardnadze today received Roland Fabius, chairman of the French National Assembly, who is in Moscow on a one-day private visit.

In a brief conversation with journalists at the end of his meeting with the head of the French parliament, Shevardnadze said that the discussion had been mainly about the USSR and about how conflicts can be avoided. "The situation in the USSR is the main concern to us and to the French," he said. "We feel that the major politicians understand our problems." According to the head of the USSR foreign policy department, Roland Fabius expressed solidarity with the efforts being undertaken in the country to stabilize the situation and also readiness to give the necessary assistance in this matter. Some aspects of the European process and other international problems were also discussed at the meeting.

Replying to a question of the journalists regarding his future work plans, Eduard Shevardnadze noted that for the time being he does not intend to make foreign trips either to France or to other countries. At first he intends to visit the republics of the former Union and to meet with presidents and foreign ministers for the discussion of the most urgent problems.

Churkin Discusses Foreign Ministry Restructure

LD2111194591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1330 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Interview with Vitaliy Churkin, spokesman for the Ministry of External Relations, by Andrey Ptashnikov; place and date not given; from the "Point of View" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ptashnikov] Hello, respected radio listeners. Usually in this program we try to take a closer look at the most important international problems. Today I shall not deviate from this tradition, although I am also proposing to discuss at the beginning of the program a subject that at first glance looks to be purely an internal matter: the reorganization of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is now called the Ministry of External Relations of, moreover, not the USSR, but, as it is proposed that our country should be called, of the Union of Sovereign States. But you have to agree that the essence probably does not lie in the name, irrespective of what it is, but in the fact that it is our foreign political department that we are dealing with. That means the very foreign policy of our state.

It looks as if the forthcoming reorganization of our ministry will be a fairly painful one. Moreover, it has started fairly unexpectedly for many, literally 24 hours before this program went on the air—the change of minister, I mean. In place of Boris Pankin, the well-known Eduard Shevardnadze has become the minister again after almost a year-long gap. So what is going to happen to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of External Relations in the future? I have invited Vitaliy Ivanovich Churkin, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, to take part in the discussion on this subject.

So Vitaliy Ivanovich, events are developing fairly rapidly. In agreeing with you about your participation in the program two days ago, we planned first and foremost to talk about the reorganization of the present Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And now you, and the country, have a new—or old, if you can put it like that—minister of foreign affairs. I have to say—I think all of you will agree with me—that quite a few sensations—or surprises—are linked with the name of Shevardnadze. For example, in 1985 he was appointed USSR minister of foreign affairs. This was a surprise. In 1990 he resigned, for the first time in the history of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was purely and simply a sensation. And finally, on 19 November 1991 came the decree of the USSR president on the appointment of Eduard Shevardnadze, now as the minister of external relations of the Union of Sovereign States. So, tell us frankly, if you can, was this a surprise to you, and in general to the staff of the ministry?

[Churkin] Well, to a certain extent it was a surprise, but naturally there had been hopes that this would happen. You will recall that back at the end of August when the issue of a new foreign minister was being decided, practically the entire ministry asked the president to

reappoint Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. At that time it did not happen. Thus, when I think back on that day, it seems to me that perhaps our appeal to the president came a few hours too late, but that is no longer important. What is important is that the appointment did take place. Were we expecting it, was it a surprise? To some people to a greater extent, to others to a lesser extent, but over the last two weeks in general this idea about the return of Shevardnadze to the ministry emerged again. It is a very good thing that it has happened now.

[Ptashnikov] Can you say that Eduard Amvrosiyevich undoubtedly enjoys respect and authority within the ministry?

[Churkin] Without a doubt.

[Ptashnikov] As far as I know, the first session of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs—or the Ministry of External Relations of the Union of Sovereign States—has already been held. President Gorbachev was also present. A few words about what questions were discussed and how the meeting transpired.

[Churkin] This was an unusual session of the Collegium. I have only been a member of the Collegium for a year now, but this is the third time that I have had to attend such an unusual session where a new minister is introduced. This is the second time that this has been done by the president of the USSR. This was the case with Bessmertnykh and now the president came to us again to present Eduard Amvrosiyevich as USSR minister of external relations. The president had quite a few good words to say for the ministry, for the contribution that the ministry has made in defending the interests of our state, and about the useful things that it had done for the world. He expressed the hope that the ministry will continue its activity. He explained why the president and the State Council decided to appoint Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze as USSR minister of external relations in this especially difficult time, when we have to work hard to ensure that our state retains its position in the world, continues to play an important, stabilizing, and peaceful role characteristic of it. In the ministry, we have to resolve complicated problems relating to the expansion of our powers. Now, in keeping with a decision of the State Council, we shall be engaged not only in external policy, but in fundamentally strategic issues regarding foreign economic activity. Considerable restructuring lies ahead.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze himself considers one of his very first tasks as that of establishing working cooperation with the republics in the sphere of foreign and foreign economic policy. In the very near future he himself intends to set out on a trip around the capitals of the sovereign republics in order to speak to people on the spot, to find out about the interests and concerns of the republics. Then the picture will be clearer to us, it will be clearer what the republics want from us, what work, what form it should take, how we should conduct it in order to defend and protect in the international arena the interests not only of the Union, but of the republics, as prescribed in the draft of the new Union treaty.

[Ptashnikov] Another question: You said that it was President Gorbachev who actually presented Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze as the new minister. Did he say whether this was his personal decision, or was it made after consultation with the presidents and the leadership of the other republics, in particular that of the Russian Federation?

[Churkin] Gorbachev underlined that this was not only his decision, but also that of the State Council, and that generally decisions regarding this appointment or the new ministry, the Ministry of External Relations, are the result of the work of the State Council and the result of consultations and deliberations in conjunction with the republics. This was absolutely clearly stated, and the president went back to this thought on two occasions.

[Ptashnikov] You said that the functions of the ministry, of the Ministry of External Relations, are going to be broadened, but that there will also be a narrowing of them. Reconciling these two concepts is rather difficult, but nevertheless we will have to do it. So, if you do not mind, let us talk about the future of the ministry itself. My first question on this theme: Do you think that the return of Shevardnadze will change something in the forthcoming reorganization of the ministry? What do I mean? I mean the very high prestige of Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, the prestige that is very high in our country as a whole and in the individual republics—with some rare exceptions. So, I repeat my question: Can this high prestige of the new minister change something in the forthcoming reorganization?

[Churkin] I believe it can and that it should, because some very difficult, hard tasks are awaiting us, and when a ministry or any other institution is led by a strong man, it facilitates the resolution of the problems it faces. I would say that this is true not only regarding the reorganization, but also regarding the general problems of the ministry. On the whole, Shevardnadze will undoubtedly leave his own mark on the reorganization of the ministry. This work has only just begun after the major decisions that had been made by the State Council on 14 November. Presently, it is difficult for me to say. I think that Eduard Amvrosiyevich has not made any precise final decisions. He has only started his new job a few days—a few hours—ago. So, we shall have a look, and once we have looked, only then will we judge what has to be done.

[Ptashnikov] You know, in the interview he had with political observer Zorin on the "Undiplomatic Conversations" television program before he was appointed minister, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardanadze stated that the backbone of the Foreign Ministry's collective should be preserved. That is, the most experienced personnel of what is now the MER, the Ministry of External Relations, will remain. Should one gather from

this that during the forthcoming reduction of the ministry the new minister will adhere to this line?

[Churkin] I think so. Eduard Amvrosiyevich went on to say that the professional backbone of the ministry is one of our national treasures. It is difficult to imagine any higher praise. I believe, and this is my personal opinion, that in our collective there are people who are extremely gifted and knowlegeable in their profession. These are not just a few individuals but the backbone of the collectives. For everyone knows that in any matter—in soccer, for example—specialists have pointed out that although there are eleven players, when a goal is scored it is always the same three or four players who are involved. That is what happens in the work of every ministry, including ours. This is the backbone on which the effectiveness and quality of diplomatic work really depends and it must be preserved. I think that during the implementation [of the reorganization of the ministry], within those parameters that have been established for us by the State Council, it is fully possible to do this although it is rather complicated, because it is a matter of reducing the number of people working in the ministry by at least 30 percent.

[Ptashnikov] Vitaliy Ivanovich, the following question then arises: It was presumed that after the staff reductions, many of the staff of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs would go to work for the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Foreign Ministry] Ministry of Foreign Affairs. If the most experienced, so to speak, remain at their posts, who will be able to move over to the RSFSR's ministry?

[Churkin] Well, you know, there is complete freedom of choice. If the RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, say, pays more than our ministry, than they will undoubtedly have extremely good prospects. The majority of us on the staff of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs are Russians, therefore, defending the interests of Russia is also extremely dear to us and close to our hearts. Therefore, I would not necessarily link this matter with reductions. Possibly some of the experienced staff will want to transfer their services to the Russian ministry. Perhaps some will be invited and will accept. After all, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev himself, just over a year ago, was working in our ministry as chief of one of the departments and moved over and is now working with great success in the Russian ministry. Hence, I would not necessarily link—and it would not be correct to link—this question with reductions, it is a matter of the personal choice of each person, and we are prepared to show understanding and will not put any obstacles in the way of, say, requests from the Russian or other republican ministries for particular members to work for them. There are many examples of this.

[Ptashnikov] You said the RSFSR Foreign Ministry has very good prospects. I hope the USSR Ministry of External Relations also has good prospects. In that connection, here is a question: How will the cuts of, as far as I know, over 2,000 people be carried out? In other words, will the cuts be made proportionately in all parts of the ministry, or will some sections be eliminated altogether?

[Churkin] This question of restructuring is a very important and painful question, but, according to my calculations, it is a matter of what directly affects those people who are now working, or were working two days ago, in the Foreign Ministry, now called the Ministry of External Relations. The figure here is in the region of perhaps 1,000 people who have to be released. But, in any case, they are educated people. It is, of course, painful. It is a matter of the fate of each one. Needless to say, there will be the appropriate social, as it were, supportive elements to help the people in this difficult situation. There will be a special mechanism to help people find jobs. We hope that republican ministries will be interested in these people who, in one way or another, are obliged through no wish of their own to leave the ministry. Or maybe someone in these circumstances will be attracted. [sentence as heard] There are interesting and, I think, flattering prospects for working in republican ministries. So, of course, everything possible will be done to alleviate the problem, and, at a session of the Collegium today, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said that he would strive to see that the restructuring proceeds as painlessly as possible, and I am sure he also meant that as a personal, human issue.

Well, that is how things are. What can be done about it? What is to happen to the many ministries that are simply being abolished? In the present case, I am cheered by the fact that there are not, in general, many specialists like those that we have in the Foreign Ministry. We had cases, before all these cuts, of young members of the staff simply leaving. Fortunately, this did not happen on a mass scale, but people were leaving the ministry, and that process was continuing. It is now very easy to find many posts in business and the information sector—where, I am sorry to say, the pay is considerably better, and that attracts, of course, many people; well, perhaps not many, but, even so, people, including young people. One must view this calmly. We have grown used to living in a kind of fossilized situation. Now the situation is becoming very mobile. I was talking to Americans recently in the United States. They say a person now has to change his career three or four times and to retrain himself almost completely. People live in a completely different psychological climate, in which such abrupt changes do not turn into personal dramas. Of course, it is a difficult business, and unusual for us. But there is no other choice. It is what the future demands.

[Ptashnikov] What is going to happen to our embassies and consulates?

[Churkin] Cuts are taking place there, too. A fundamental decision has been made to scrap nine embassies and 11 general consulates. Approximately 20 embassies or general consulates will also be cut to the bone—perhaps two or three people will remain. This will make it possible to resolve some budgetary issues. I do have to

point this out to you—not everyone has an idea of the magnitude of these figures. Suppose we are talking about the military budget, that is a matter of tens of billions of rubles [R]. I saw the figure—no offense meant to anyone—for the KGB. I saw this somewhere in the press: R5 billion. Our entire budget is R150 million and R110 million foreign currency; that is to say, somewhere in the region of 150 million dollars—and that is the entire budget. But we understand the country's very complicated currency and financial situation. Here everyone has to tighten their belt. The savings that we obtained is somewhere—I do not remember the exact figure now—in the region of R150 million to 50 million dollars per year. It seems to me that it will interest our listeners to get an idea of the figures, which are different ones than in a few other cases that we now have to talk about. After all, what we are talking about is neither more nor less than our country's foreign policy representation throughout the world, and soon our country's foreign economic representation throughout the world will also be at issue. So the tasks here are very large ones, and it would seem that regarding our staff and our budget we are on the whole not a burden to our country and are earning our keep. Well, of course I am saying this not to say that we do not need to restructure. We need to restructure, we need to slim down. We are tackling all these tasks now.

[Ptashnikov] Vitaliy Ivanovich, I have a last question—a very important one, I think. Won't all these cutbacks cause difficulties in conducting our foreign policy? I know for a fact that this is worrying our listeners at the moment.

[Churkin] Well, there probably will be some difficulties. I hope we manage to maintain our principal avenues, the key ones. We mentioned that backbone, the backbone that will remain. This backbone will carry out the functions it is entrusted with. We are all now working in conditions where we have to tackle the same tasks or, at times, even more complex ones with, perhaps, less manpower in a number of cases. So, we will now have to resolve extremely complex tasks with less people. Let us remember that in the past we did not have a republican level of any substance as far as our foreign political and foreign economic interests were concerned. The fact that the republican level will now develop, the fact that the republics themselves will now play an active role in the international arena, is an advantage for us. Therefore, the impact of our international presence, our international economic presence, will, we hope, be stronger than it was before. We are prepared to do our part of this work.

[Ptashnikov] I hope that the line to be pursued by our newly independent republics will be accommodated in some way with the overall policy being pursued by the center. Thank you, Vitaliy Ivanovich, for the interview.

[Churkin] Thank you, Andrey Vladimirovich.

[Ptashnikov] I wish you and all the staff of the ministry success. Times are very difficult in the country at the moment. I fear that these difficulties are, naturally, also affecting our diplomats' work. So thank you once again. I wish you success.

[Churkin] Thank you.

KGB Deputy Chairman Stolyarov Interviewed

924B0095A Moscow TRUD in Russian
15 Nov 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Aviation Major General Nikolay Stolyarov, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, by special correspondents V. Gorlenko and Yu. Dmitriyev, published under the rubric "Point of View;" place and date not given: "KGB: What Next?"]

[Text] Moscow—**He is 44 years old. A military airman. He was for many years a lecturer in philosophy and ethics at the Military Air Academy.**

The morning that the August putsch began, he donned his colonel's uniform and went to defend the "White House." During the night of the expected assault he spoke many times by special telephone with all the leaders of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, calling for the right thing, good sense.... He flew together with his friend from flying days, A. Rutskoy, to see USSR President M. Gorbachev at Foros. He was recently appointed deputy chairman of the KGB. A humanitarian individual, Nikolay Sergeyevich shares in this interview his thoughts concerning the state security authorities and their place in our rapidly changing society.

[TRUD] We have heard and read many times the most diverse information concerning a reorganization of the KGB. But none of the reports on the progress of this process have removed the doubts as to its timeliness and correct nature. And here we have confirmation of our doubts: The Soviet of the Union of the new parliament has declined to examine a bill on reorganizing the state security authorities, declaring that it is in fact a question of the total elimination of these authorities. Do you agree with the deputies?

[Stolyarov] One might, perhaps, be gratified that our lawmakers are so profoundly disturbed by the problem of the country's security. The break with the totalitarian past by no means removes this question from the agenda. On the contrary, it is exacerbating it, making it very much a matter of the moment. But moderation is needed in any undertaking.

[TRUD] V. Rubanov, chief of analysis of the USSR KGB (and not just he), has said repeatedly that it is first necessary to define a concept of the country's security under the new conditions and to then approach reforms. The state commission has requested that the president of the USSR suspend possible reorganizations prior to the completion of its work. Literally a few days ago S. Stepashin, chairman of the commission, condemned the

facile approach to the creation of new Union structures. Nonetheless, the reforms have been proceeding apace and on a kind of reckless scale. The USSR KGB no longer exists, and what does is not clear. And this under conditions where starvation is simply approaching in the country and where there is no system of protection for the consumer against the mafia in the trade sphere and no protection for the humanitarian assistance coming into the country.

[Stolyarov] We wanted to rid ourselves of obvious defects as quickly as possible. But I agree with you: The aspiration to reform the system of security authorities as quickly as possible has not been without overhead. Under what conditions are optimum forms of new organization being sought today? Events in the country (and in the world also) are developing so impetuously: everything done today ages rapidly. As far as the decisions which have already been adopted are concerned, they also are hardly insured against the influence of the hurricane-force changes.

[TRUD] But the security service has, after all, its own relatively independent functional certainty—regardless of the type of political system?

[Stolyarov] Yes, this is so. Any state has the corresponding services, which have their own professional and functional specifics which are in practice common to all systems of state security.

Our security authorities were deformed in purely ideological fashion inasmuch as they permitted the use of structures intended to combat terrorism, organized crime, the mafia, corruption, and the narcotics trade for the purpose of combating dissidence, theoretical attempts to change outdated principles of social life and economic organization, democratic sentiments, and people's entirely natural aspiration to defend their human dignity.

Consequently, the dismantling of the ideology of this structure was required most of all. The dismantling of hard-set political approaches, cliches, symbols, stereotypes, traditions, and customs and the eradication of the most complete lack of supervision and the abuses and machinations within the KGB connected with this. A change of the leading body and a certain change of structure are sufficient for this, incidentally. Not the destruction of the system and professional potential.

[TRUD] There are many publications on the KGB in the mass media. But it has to be acknowledged that negative information is gaining the ascendancy.

[Stolyarov] Yes, I do not doubt it. I have noticed something else also: As soon as one is negative about the KGB, the writing is gifted, striking, and expressive. But about the difficult daily routine of those fighting real criminals, the writing is so spare and dry that you have no desire to read it.

Our professional duty today is to work in the sphere of the social negative, and the professional duty of journalists is to be all-seeing and to not forget that bombs in the subway and on aircraft, drug trafficking, and the threat of a putsch will not disappear of their own accord thanks to clarion articles about the "bad KGB." And our employees could receive a good boost from their objective approach.

What is also needed, come to that, is state-minded—in the good meaning of this word—concern for the employees of the special services. Just look at how the U.S. President, the Senate Intelligence Committee, and other federal authorities display zealous concern to enhance the authority of employees of the CIA, FBI, DIA, and NSA, stressing the need for these federal bodies in every possible way. And the law-abiding American taxpayer treats them, I will not say with love, but with respect.

The CIA, which is being reformed simultaneously with us, is striving in every possible way to protect its employees against sweeping accusations and emotional distress and against all that is inevitably negatively reflected in the fruitfulness of their activity. But with us? "A kingdom of distorting mirrors." Thus hearing where her husband was intending going to work, one overly politicized wife put the question squarely: "Either me or a department covered with ill repute."

[TRUD] What can be done if the KGB is, indeed, of ill repute?

[Stolyarov] It is necessary to separate the wheat from the chaff. It is necessary to publicize and roundly condemn all that was cultivated in the depths of the totalitarian system which contributed to its inhumanity, the consolidation of the power of the bureaucracy, and the rule of the worst of the unworthiest. For us ourselves, without waiting for a push from outside, to open the tragic pages of history. This on the one hand.

But on the other it is essential to more boldly open also the pages of which we may with every justification be proud. To tell people in gifted and authentic fashion about the good deeds of our employees. And there are many such deeds, believe me, today also. The eternal struggle of good and evil has today reached its high point, it would seem. Of course, the best type of struggle against "evil demons" is a successful economy. Prophets—domestic and foreign—are saying that a condition of a successful economy is the market. Yes, this is right. But under the conditions of a growth of crime and lawlessness a market (civilized!) will not come down from the heavens and appear as the Holy Ghost. Someone has to be a medical attendant in society also....

[TRUD] Objective material on the KGB has come to appear more frequently in the press. Many people, evidently, have noted the interesting publication of data from a sociological poll conducted among KGB employees prior to the putsch.

[Stolyarov] Yes, this was a very important publication. The poll confirmed that a majority of the employees of the state security system have already come to feel themselves responsible for a society with new, democratic values. Guided by these figures, Valeriy Komkov, chief of the USSR KGB Sociology Laboratory, warned V. Kryuchkov that an absolute majority on the operations side would not comply with orders similar to those which were given on 18-21 August. And when the essentially criminal orders were given, many KGB employees behaved wholly in accordance with the sociologists' forecast conclusions. Risking a great deal, they made their way into the besieged "White House" and offered their services....

Those same sociological findings, incidentally, enable us to consider approximately one-third of the career personnel an "islet of Stalinism": This was the mainstay of the old regime. And inasmuch as they do not know how to be passive, it is easy to imagine their active "fusion" of quite a professional level with ideologically hide bound orthodox persons with a grudge against the democrats and angry at them. Nor can a fusion with resourceful mafia forces with finances be ruled out. The danger of a second putsch is concealed here, in this "bench system." It cannot be forgotten that interests rule the world.

[TRUD] But what, one wonders, was it that the organizers of the August putsch lacked? What personal interests were they pursuing? They had, after all, everything that the normal individual needs.

[Stolyarov] You are forgetting such a misfortune, such a most powerful feeling, as the thirst for power.

Pythagoras even warned: "It is equally dangerous to hand a madman a sword and a dishonorable person power." And both the sword and power were in the same—unworthy—hands here....

[TRUD] Nikolay Sergeyevich, what is your vision of the KGB in light of the "Russia-center-republics" general political arguments?

[Stolyarov] The local staffs of the security authorities have already been dismantled by the republics. That they have become states is an incontrovertible fact. Russia, as a state, also needs to have a system of protection for its interests. I, for example, am very much disturbed by the fact that Russia, with its still infirm democracy, does not have a strong system of law enforcement and military support for the democratic gains and the possibilities for reforms. The path of transferring to Russia the ready-made structures of the USSR KGB, including its central machinery, could be highly productive, it seems to me. The same with the Army also.

Two versions of a solution of the interrepublic dispute are possible.

The first. Interaction between the republics is exercised according to a plan similar to the ties to the special services of European and American countries. To this end a service is created in each republic-state under the auspices of the security authorities to coordinate activity with other republics in the fight against migrating crime and also to tackle tasks pertaining to assurance of the strategic security of the nuclear facilities for military and peaceful use.

The second. A central security service remains, but to perform the functions which are delegated by the republics. It would then be necessary for the supreme authority of the republics to come to a perfectly definite arrangement about this among themselves and to open the financing of this service to all, according it the right to use the organizational structures of the republic special services for what would in fact be international operations.

[TRUD] To judge by everything, you support the idea of a "strong Russia" and believe that it is already useless to struggle for the Union?

[Stolyarov] I am simply endeavoring to be a realist. This is indispensable in politics. The "Union indestructible of republics free" was possible even recently. I defended and upheld it as best and wherever I could. But the Union which is practicable today is only a Union of states. If it is approached in civilized fashion, essentially nothing will change. We must endeavor to have outstandingly proper relations with all states, be they America or Kyrgyzstan, France or Moldova. We means Rus, Russia. It is a question of preserving Russia as a single state. It is at this that the titanic efforts of Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy are aimed. Although not everyone understands this, unfortunately.

No one can deny that up to the last moment Russia observed the rules of gentlemanly relations with the other republics. And they acquired independence not without arbitration by Russia. The leaders of the new states should no longer be afforded reason to think that Russia's gentlemanly approach was dictated by its weakness. It is sorely in need today of instruments of confirmation of its entirely sufficient strength—an army, security authorities, a Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[TRUD] You put the issue very resoundingly. Even Yeltsin does not put it this way. He is still speaking of the need for a political and economic union of the former republics....

[Stolyarov] A political union is desirable, but hardly practicable today, but it would be no bad thing to make the economic space uniform: on a European and on a world scale. In terms of my world outlook I am a man of peace, although I have a respectful attitude toward all people's national feelings. All disintegration processes—national, political, territorial, cultural—are alien to me. All these national apartments are for me ferroconcrete cages. And an absurdity, therefore—our disunity means the country's collapse. But we can try to live separately. The world integration process will bring us together, all the same.

[TRUD] But to such longing, ours both (we are at one here), for a united motherland within the borders of the USSR come approximately the following objections: no matter, all colonial empires have collapsed, and there exist in Europe as independent states even such small ones as Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.

[Stolyarov] Empires collapsed under the conditions of a world disintegration process. Now, however, the process is developing in the direction of world integration. That it is being realized between states in the same way as between republics or lands is another matter. And, then, I never considered our state an empire of the colonial type. This term was applicable to us just ideologically, perhaps.

[TRUD] Could you cite the main reason, in your view, for the disintegration of the USSR?

[Stolyarov] It lies, I repeat, in our unsuccessful economy. We reached 1985 with an economic system in disarray, and subsequently it has become even more disorderly, and we have unduly politicized it, what is more. But, ideally, politics should not hamper economics at all. In a word, the flaws need to be sought within ourselves.

[TRUD] And outside?

[Stolyarov] Inasmuch as the world community had a hand in the disintegration of the Union, this cannot be denied, it will also have to participate in the regulation of interstate relations. The West cannot fail to have an interest in this. Our Russian words already mean virtually nothing to the states which have been formed. Let us preserve our Russia. Without the urgent recovery of its economy it also could fall apart into nuclear "domains and principalities".

[TRUD] Claims on the world community—this is something new....

[Stolyarov] Why do I speak about the world community in the context of blame for the disintegration of the Union? Wittingly or unwittingly, it contributed to it and should not now continue to accuse us alone of the disintegration. It would be desirable for it to orient itself more rapidly toward participation in the settlement of interstate conflicts and the building of relations with Russia, as the continuer of the state's millennial history.

Perhaps I am mistaken, but Western intelligence services and analysts have manifestly done insufficient work if the leaders of the leading states of the world are today still counting on the possibility of preserving the USSR with the aid of advice and appeals, exhortations, and so forth. The West's timorousness in rendering aid to a state which has found itself in a most difficult situation, but which possesses most immense economic potential, is astonishing.

[TRUD] It is then a question of our intelligence. We are continually being shown by the most diverse authors that intelligence is an invariable attribute of the life of a state. Even the Vatican has its intelligence service.

[Stolyarov] Yes, all states need intelligence as yet. Any government has the right to say: "I want to know everything." But realizing information needs is a costly business.

[TRUD] Precisely: It has cost us plenty, but what have the returns been, if we go by the results of the management of the country all these past years?

[Stolyarov] Yes, this is a problem. The authorities' need to know everything is opposed by the expense of extracting the information. Of course, the population and the electorate would not dispute this need. Naturally, they would agree also to the payment of a costly undertaking pertaining to the extraction of information. But only on condition of the obvious conversion of the omniscience of the authorities into the results of government.

I do not believe that a re-check of the information of the special services themselves by various departments is necessary. This is superfluous expenditure. If there are centers for the gathering and integration of information in the security authorities, the Foreign Ministry, and in the president's office, there is already double-checking. But information in itself, without in-depth analysis is, although costly, useless. And the authorities are, as before, not yet displaying this ability, unfortunately. And they are for this reason slow and superficial in their decisions.

[TRUD] And against whom will intelligence be conducted?

[Stolyarov] Today all special services of the world's leading countries are seeking for themselves a new role or "more precise image" in connection with the loss of their main and monolithic enemy. Not states, but processes of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, biological, chemical—of international terrorism and of the drugs trade are becoming the enemy now. And the mission being assigned is that of helping politicians understand the emerging economic possibilities and challenges.

[TRUD] And how do the local state security authorities shape up in respect of "supplies" of information on internal processes in the country?

[Stolyarov] The KGB authorities locally have lost the client of dubious information, and they have not been taught to "produce" other information. They are sending to the center coded telegrams which frequently cannot compete with open information either in terms of promptness or depth. The analytical level withstands no criticism. The local special services lack the skills of working with open sources of information, and there are few analysts who could really ascertain trends of a dangerous social situation taking shape. They do not always display a capacity for anticipating the development of social conflicts and making recommendations geared to the formation of conditions of social partnership.

[TRUD] And the final question. Do you consider renaming the KGB the AFB, FAB, MSB or something else absolutely necessary?

[Stolyarov] An abbreviation which, whether we like it or not, evokes in people negative emotions needs to be changed, of course. But this is not the heart of the problem. We have already changed the name—repeatedly. In addition, there is much that is imitative in the change of name: It should unfailingly be named as in the West. As for me, there is far more valor in investing in work an absolutely new social essence, being solicitous of the professional essence, while keeping the old name. The individual should not be forgotten here....

Maritime Fleet Ministry Abolished

OW2211014991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2046 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From "Soviet Business Report;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Merchant Navy [Maritime Fleet] Ministry has been abolished. In its place the Russian Government is establishing a Department of Nautical Transportation.

The new department will retain jurisdiction over nine of the former ministry's 18 steamship lines: the Northern Line (Arkhangelsk), the Baltic Line (St Petersburg), the Murmansk Line, the Novorossiisk Line, the Vladivostok Line, the Primorsk Line (Nakhodka), the Sakhalin Line (Kholmsk), the Kamchatka Line, and the Arctic Line (Tiksi).

Estonia and Latvia have announced that they will establish their own navies. It is not yet clear what the future will hold for steamship lines located on the territory of the Ukraine, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.

First Issue of Business Weekly Published

LD2111161991 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—The first issue of the weekly "KUPETS" (MERCHANT) has come off the press here. It is intended for businessmen and people who plan to go into commerce.

"Our weekly will popularise the experience of businessmen in our country, steering their way through the labyrinth of emerging market relations," the weekly's editor-in-chief Petr Len told TASS.

According to Len, a new generation of merchants has emerged in the country. They are educated, gifted and vigorous intermediates between the producers, owners of goods, and consumers. "People, belonging to this reviving profession, must have their own well-informed newspaper, expressing independent views and having its own stand, a publication that will uphold the interests of the producers, merchants and consumers. Our 'KUPETS' intends to be such a newspaper," Len said.

TASS Carries Press Review for 22 Nov

LD2211073191 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 22 Nov 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Central newspapers highlight today the beginning of the trip of President Gorbachev, who arrived in Irkutsk, the Baykal region, on Wednesday [20 November] night. PRAVDA and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA report the president's conversation with journalists on the way from Moscow to Irkutsk. The newspapers stress his words that "perestroyka is a great undertaking, and we should see it through." Gorbachev also said that he did not intend to make long speeches. "I shall try to spend more time listening to people. Today is not the time for long speeches," the president said.

During his meetings with Irkutsk residents at enterprises and institutions and right in the streets the president told them about the key problems that should be resolved during this crucial period. In his opinion, the most important thing is to "implement dramatic socio-economic transformations more quickly and effectively and to consolidate in every way the Union of Sovereign States."

A three-day visit to Germany of Russian President Yeltsin is another topic which is given wide coverage by today's newspapers. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA points out that it is Yeltsin's first trip abroad as president of Russia and that even the first day of the visit opened up broad prospects of "direct cooperation between Russia and Germany."

PRAVDA describes as the main political result of the first day of Yeltsin's visit to Germany a joint statement, signed by the Russian president and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. "It records the intention of the sides to consolidate good neighbourly relations and develop large-scale cooperation both in the interests of the two countries and for the sake of a safe future for Europe."

All newspapers publish new details of the crash of the military helicopter in Nagorno-Karabakh on November 20. All the 21 people who were on board the helicopter died. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes with reference to local residents that the helicopter might have run into a hill in the fog. But other newspapers, especially KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA which carries a selection of materials on this subject, come to a different conclusion. Even the results of a preliminary investigation show that the helicopter was probably fired at from large-calibre weapons, which caused its explosion and the death of people. Newspapers publish a telegram of

President Gorbachev expressing condolences to the Azerbaijani leaders, as well as the families of the deceased.

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publish a letter of a group of well-known lawyers, who criticise Yeltsin's decree of November 6, this year, on the activities of the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Russian Federaion. They believe the decision of the Russian president to ban the activities of the parties is unconstitutional. Besides, it creates a dangerous precedent.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes about the urgent need for stopping bloodshed in South Ossetia. In the opinion of the newspaper, armed confrontation reached a critical point there.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries a selection of express-interviews, in which senior executives from various sovereign republics express their attitude to prospects of a currency union.

Leonid Cheshinsky, president of the International Organisation of East European Cooperation and Trade, writes in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA about problems of the revival on a new basis of a regional East European and Asian market.

Economic

Russia Against, Moldova Abstains in Budget Vote

OW2011140991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1145 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Moscow Wednesday [20 November], the Council of Premiers of the Sovereign Republics passed by a qualified majority an emergency budget for the 4th quarter of 1991, setting the budget deficit at 110 billion rubles. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports Russia voted against it, and Moldova abstained.

Vladimir Mashits, the Russian Federation's official representative, protested against approving a budget deficit of 110 billion. He expressed Russia's readiness to take on the expenditures of the liquidated Union ministries and their various installations on RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] territory, and to negotiate with other republics doing the same with regard to budget-financed installations on their territories. Expenditures of this kind are expected to amount to a total of 70 billion rubles.

As far as Union expenditures are concerned, including those on the maintenance of the army, government, interior troops and the like, which may total some 50 billion rubles, they should be divided among the republics, with Russia taking on the greater part, Mr. Mashits said.

He declined to indicate whether this meant Russia would maintain the union army exclusively on RSFSR territory and suggested taht the major military and strategic problems, including army development and financing, be considered by the next session of the State Council.

According to IF's sources, the Council of Republican Premiers will again meet at 26, Pushkin St. at 5 PM today after the ongoing round of talks with G-7 ministers in Oktyabrskaya Hotel is over. The heads of republican governments are expected to discuss eight important agreements specifying the Economic Community Treaty, among them on forming a banking union, on the principles and mechanism of servicing the country's external debt, on coordinated taxation, on community budget, on forming a regional development foundation to assist the least protected sections of the population, on imposing a ceiling on the deficits of the aggregate budgets of the community members, on prices and mutual supplies, and on sanctions for non-compliance with the economic community treaty or related agreements.

All these documents are to be signed by the premiers before the republican parliaments proceed to ratify the Economic Community Treaty.

Draft Agreement on Taxation Policy Announced

LD2211032191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Tatyana Akkuratova]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—Two forms of taxation—direct and indirect—are envisaged by the draft agreement on the implementation of a single taxation policy stipulated by the Economic Community Treaty. This was announced by USSR Deputy Finance Minister Vladimir Rodyushkin while he was addressing those attending the international forum "World Experience and the Economy of the USSR," which is taking place in Moscow. The draft that has been drawn up has been approved by the International Monetary Fund, he said. Among the direct taxes are a tax on profits and income. The indirect taxes include a tax on additional value and an excise tax. The rates of the profits tax will be determined by the republics themselves.

Economic Union Meeting Begins 21 Nov in Moscow

LD2111225191 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—The council of the heads of government of the Economic Union member-states tonight began to discuss the course of drafting agreements to the Economic Union Treaty. Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, deputy head of the country's Committee for Day-to-Day Economic Management, delivered a report on the subject.

The Council's meeting is closed to journalists. It is known, however, that a package of eight agreements to

the Treaty are to be considered: on a banking union, principles and mechanisms for the servicing of the Economic Union's foreign debt, a coordinated policy in the field of taxes, a budget of the Economic Union, the establishment of a fund for regional development and social support for the population, on maximum amounts of the consolidated budgets of the Economic Union member-states, on prices and amounts of deliveries under treaties between the states and for the common needs of the Union, on sanctions for a breach of the Treaty or of agreements to it.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy told journalists that the essence of his report at the Council's meeting is that a package of 26 agreements to the Economic Union Treaty is practically prepared. Out of them, 24 agreements already await a final political decision by the heads of government.

At the same time, he said, major matters concerning the functioning of the Union economy—a military budget, limitations on budget deficit, the coordination of pricing policies, the service of the foreign debt, etc. still remain unresolved.

Expert opinion is that work on the agreements has been completed, Yavlinskiy said. However, a political decision on them by the leadership of the former republics of the Union is being delayed, he added.

Silayev Chairs Meeting

LD2211114391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2143 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Recorded report by reporter A. Lutskoy from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Lutskoy] This evening Ivan Silayev opened a meeting in Moscow of the council of heads of government of the member states of the economic community. On the agenda are the preparation of follow-up agreements to the treaty on the economic community and the appointment and endorsement of members of an interstate council to monitor debt.

Under the current circumstances, do you believe that the republics can settle accounts with each other without a special committee of this kind?

[I.A. Kenik, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Republic] I believe it is impossible. Such a committee has been badly needed for a long time. Every republic must know how to calculate its debts, how much it owes, what its contribution is, and what its overseas balance and assets will be. Everything must be done in a clear, honest, and proper way, for every republic. Then there will not be the disagreement and political struggle there is now over this question.

[Lutskoy] In other words, this will be a committee for mutual trust, as I understand it?

[Kenik] Of course.

Joint-Stock Company To Replace Ministry

OW2011001291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2116 GMT 19 Nov 91

[From the 20 November "Soviet Business Report" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Automobile and Agricultural Engineering is to be replaced by the joint stock company, Avtoselkhozmashholding. The shareholders of the new company will be found along the majority of plants now manufacturing automobiles, trucks, agricultural machinery, batched goods and electrical equipment, which may be located anywhere throughout the territory of what was the Soviet Union, including the Baltic States and the Ukraine.

Part of the functions in coordinating those enterprises in this industry that are located within the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] will be transferred to the Automobile Industry Department of the Russian Ministry of Industry.

Asphalt Producer To Become Joint-Stock Company

OW2111015591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2108 GMT 20 Nov 91

[From 21 November "Soviet Business Report" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The building trust Mosasfaltostroy is one of the USSR's largest producers of asphalt and road coverings. Last year its output included 1.5 mn [million] tons of asphalt and 10 mn square meters of road coverings. Now Mosasfaltostroy has announced its intention to become a closed joint-stock company. The final decision to create a joint-stock company is expected to be made in upcoming months.

Mosasfaltostroy plans to fully privatize its entire founding capital, estimated to total more than 30 mn rubles. It intends to receive a portion of the capital free or at a reduced rate. The rest of the capital will be bought up immediately by relying on loans or after some time by utilizing only the enterprises' resources.

Soviet Fishing Fleet Divided by Regions

OW2211045991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2046 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet fishing fleet is divided by region into five fishing associations: Dalryba (Far East), Sevryba (White and Bering Seas), Zapryba (Baltic Sea), Yugryba (Black Sea), and Kasryba (Caspian Sea). These asociations catch 45-47% of fish and seafood in the USSR's fishing zones. Fishing fleets in Far Eastern waters angle more than 95% of the domestic fish, while the North and Baltic Seas offer the rest. The fleet based on the Black

Sea fishes in non-Soviet waters. Soviet fleets catch slightly more than 5% of their entire volume of fish in domestic resevoirs. Of this amount, more than one half is caught by the Kaspryba association.

Most of the annual catch takes place in Far Eastern waters, where Soviet fleets bring in 95% of all fish caught in Soviet waters and 50% of the total Soviet catch. Last year, about 4.5 million tons of fish were caught in Far Eastern waters. The kinds of fish commonly caught in the Far East include iwashi (a sardine), salmon, pollack, horse-mackerel, halibut, cod, and flounder.

Region	Proportion of Overall Catch	Types of Fish
Bering Sea	24%	pollack, halibut, cod, flounder, salmon
East-Kamchat Zone	5.5%	flounder, cod, crabs, valuable types of fish
Okhotsk Sea	39.5%	pollack
North Kuril Zone	4.5%	pollack, calimari
South Kuril Zone	16.5%	pollack, salmon, iwashi, horse-mackerel

Dalryba makes 3-4% of its catch in the 200 miles of coastal waters bordering Japan, South Korea, Vietnam, and Canada. In addition, Dalryba brings in 1-4% of its catch from the ocean's open waters.

Railroad Responsible for Transporting Oil

PM2111155791 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Report by Madri Ligaforov from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Winter is setting in, but many regions in the country do not have enough fuel, and finished products are not leaving Bashkortostan, where major oil refineries are concentrated. Why is this? Madri Ligaforov reports from Ufa:

[Ligaforov] The reason is that there is nothing to transport them in. In the summer the river fleet helped out, but now the shipping season is over and the railroad has to shoulder the burden of shipping all the oil products. By November the railroad had failed to send over 10,000 tank cars to the Bashkir refineries. As a result, consumers did not receive over 500,000 tonnes of oil products, and installations are coming to a standstill. This issue was recently brought up at a Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet session, but not even the republic parliament is in a position to resolve it.

[V.N. Karakuts, director of Novoufimskiy Oil Refinery] Our sidings have been deserted practically since the beginning of November. The point is that all the tank cars of fuel oil are going outside Russia and remaining there, in the former Union republics, where they are used as storage tanks for the cold and difficult winter ahead. Therefore, as a result of such difficulties, we have hardly any transport, and our plant has practically stopped working as of the beginning of November.

[Ligaforov] But not just your plant?

[Karakuts] No, not just our plant. This also involves other, nearby refinieries in our association, and it has happened when there is no fuel at all anywhere in the country.

[Ligaforov] Yes, and one very important point is that when the plant is at a standstill, when the installations are at a standstill, this brings ecological damage to the city.

[Karakuts] There is a very great danger of this because when the plant is not working it emits far more harmful substances and gases, and there is a particular danger in starting up installations with our climatic conditions.

[Ligaforov] What do you think is the solution to this situation?

[Karakuts] There is a simple solution, of course. That is, supplying railroad tank cars, but what happens is that they leave and are never seen again. There is one other solution. We have customers who have their own rolling stock, and we have a proposal to make to our television viewers: If you have your own rolling stock, come and we will sell you unlimited quantities of fuel oil and other petroleum products.

Officials on Reports of Gold, Platinum Deals

PM2211103091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Gold and Platinum Have Been, Are Being, and Will Be Exported From Our Country. Is This Always Done Legally?"]

[Text] We have received through TASS channels reports of the first response by official bodies to the report published in our newspaper on the shipment abroad of considerable quantities of precious metals (No. 272 and No. 274).

For some reason we are now getting comments on the article on this subject which we reprinted from the British DAILY TELEGRAPH, rather than on our own report. Nevertheless, the reaction of the leadership of the USSR State Bank, who refused to comment to TASS on that article, and of the USSR Ministry of Finances, whose spokesman reported that "all this is stupid," appears interesting.

The statement by Aleksey Borzunov, deputy chief of the currency and financial operations association of the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, undoubtedly merits attention: "I do not know about the size of the state's reserve, but I can say that the bank carries out separate instructions from the country's government."

In his opinion, operations with precious metals are conducted in strict accordance with the laws and within the framework of the powers with which the bank has been endowed by the Interstate Economic Committee and the government of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. They are notified promptly of the instructions' fulfillment.

At the same time a report has come from the distant RSA [Republic of South Africa] that known businessman Colin Gibbins (involved in the so-called "case of the 140 billion") declared in an interview in the SATURDAY STAR that even after the resignation of former Russian Deputy Premier Gennadiy Filshin some "Russians" offered to sell "a large consignment of gold" on the free market.

Within the framework of talks about a multibillion deal to exchange rubles for dollars, Gibbins maintains, there was also talk of "granting the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce the right to participate in the extraction of platinum from mines in Siberia." Gibbins provided the newspaper with faxes of "correspondence connected with the platinum deal and obtained from Russian circles in Switzerland." It emerges from this correspondence that there was discussion of the mining complex at Norilsk and that the question of a deal is "still open."

A spokesman for the RSA Government explained, according to the newspaper, that "there was opposition to implementing this deal, because it undermines the country's traditional role as the chief supplier of platinum to the West." The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce confirmed that, indeed, "talks had been held there on rights to the platinum mines at Norilsk." Finally, citing "a rich businessman connected with C. Gibbins," the newspaper reports that "the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce is now conducting talks directly with the Soviets on a platinum deal and so is trying to dispense with C. Gibbins as a go-between."

So there are grounds, we believe, for doubting the validity of the statement by the spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Finances that "all this is stupid."

So the first response to the newspaper's article has been received, but you will agree, the replies that have been received to date can hardly be considered to exhaust in the slightest degree the topic that has been raised. In this connection the editorial office considers that it has the right and is obliged to continue gathering information regarding the shipment of mysterious "currency cargoes" out of the country.

Union Still 'Net Debtor' to East Europe in 1991

OW2211042891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2046 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In 1991, the Soviet Union has continued to be a net debtor to East European countries. In order to rectify the situation, Moscow is reducing the volume of commodity circulation and minimizing the government's role in general commodities trading.

USSR is Net Debtor

In 1990, the USSR's commodity circulation with East European countries fell by 11.4% from 1989. Soviet exports dropped 16.4% and imports 7.1%. Over the last year, the USSR's negative trade balance has grown by 200% and has now reached 11.7 billion hard rubles, at the USSR State Bank's official exchange rate. As a result, the Soviet Union has become a net debtor in trade vith all East European countries except Romania. In 1991, the external trade deficit has continued to grow.

The Soviet Union's debt to Poland is the largest at 7.2 billion hard rubles. In addition, the Soviet Union owes Czechoslovakia 4.6 billion rubles, Hungary 2 billion rubles, and Bulgaria 700 million rubles.

Reducing Imports Is One Way to Slash the Deficit

Following the advice of experts in the USSR Ministry of External Relations, the Soviet Government decided to reduce imports from East European countries in order to slash the deficit. Over the first 10 months of 1991, the Soviet Union cut imports by 60% to about 14.7 billion hard rubles, in comparison vith the same period last year. (The official exchange rate is 1 hard ruble to $1.75.) During the same time period, Soviet exports to East Europe fell by 57% to 13.8 billion hard rubles.

The example of Poland clearly demonstrates the dramatic trade slowdown. In the first 10 months of this year, bilateral commodity circulation with Poland has reached $1.5 billion, including Polish exports of $450 million and Soviet exports of $1050 million. By year end, experts estimate that bilateral trade will slightly exceed $2 billion, including Polish exports of $800 million and Soviet exports of $1400 million. Given these figures, commodity circulation will have fallen approximately 70% since 1990.

Experts forecast that the volume of Soviet-Bulgarian trade will reach $6 billion this year, just 40% of last year's $14 billion in trade.

Soviet-Czechoslovak commodity circulation will approach $5 billion in 1991, or about one-half of last year's trade volume.

State Moves to Plan Two

1991's indicative lists included only 30% of goods enumerated in the previous year's lists. Such indicative lists are drawn up as a matter of protocol in bilateral trade agreements; they include the volume and schedule of proposed trade. These indicative lists, however, are not binding agreements.

Any goods not listed may be traded directly between economic organizations. The schedule of goods indicated for export has been significantly shortened. As a result, more than one-third of economically crucial goods, traditionally supplied through the indicative lists, now have to be traded outside the indicative lists.

The following statistics show the East European countries' shares of total USSR indicative list trade during 1991:

Bulgaria	32.7%
Romania	9.4%
Hungary	16.9%
Czechoslovakia	14.7%
Poland	11.7%
Yugoslavia	14.5%

There was no qualitative change in the supply structure. The Soviet Union primarily exported raw materials and materials (78.6%) and machinery and equipment (13.1%).

Imports into the USSR consisted of consumer goods (53%) and raw materials, machinary and equipvent (40.4%).

National Gross Output Falls 12 Percent in 1991

LD2211032991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" program]

[Text] At the cooperation seminar between France and the USSR, Leonid Abalkin stated that during nine months of 1991 the national gross output in the sovereign republics has fallen by 12 percent and by the end of the year it will reach the level of six years ago. During the same period, the extraction of oil has fallen by 41 million tonnes and the extraction of coal has fallen by 57 million tonnes. Even with the most energetic actions it will only be possible to start extracting our country from the financial and economic crisis in a year and a half or two years.

50 Billion Rubles Added to Cash in Circulation

PM2111143191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report from roundup of TASS and correspondent reports: "We Are Continuing to 'Get Rich' Rapidly!"]

[Text] As of 1 October the population of our country had in its hands money to the sum of 199 billion rubles. In the third quarter of this year alone these accumulations increased by 50 billion rubles, since the considerable increase in the population's monetary incomes was not backed up by a corresponding increase in trade turnover.

Miners Buy Raspadskaya Coal Mine From State

PM2111144991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by N. Chirkov and V. Voronov]

[Text] [Announcer] After two years of leasing, miners from the country's largest mine, the "Raspadskaya," have bought their enterprise from the State Committee for the Management of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Property.

[Chirkov] Many of us still remember the famous records and initiatives for which "Raspadskaya" was renowned—not always rightfully. Now too the mine seems to be setting a kind of record—only on the debit side. The coal extraction shortfall to date totals almost 1.5 million tonnes. This has been caused by strikes, irresponsibility at all levels, and poor discipline. What are the mine's owners doing today, when their own money and concrete economic results are at stake? The mine is setting up small enterprises with various forms of ownership—enterprises involved in trade and agency dealings, repair work, and extraction. They have opened current trading accounts at bank branches and been given the right to sell some of the coal that they extract. Preparations are under way to set up a joint-stock company geared to building up capital. The shareholders must include—and many workers have said this—machine builders, people developing new equipment, and foreign partners. Next year promises to be a profitable one for the mine. Many lucrative faces will become operational by January—almost 8 million tonnes of coal are ready to be extracted from them, but for the time being the mine is living not on its earnings, but in debt.

The liberalization of prices has also allowed things to develop unchecked in the mining town of Mezhdurechensk. Here a kilo of sausage costs roughly double the price of a tonne of coal. Once again a wave of strikes has set in, admittedly at their own mine. Blasters, haulage workers, and power supply operatives [vysokovoltniki] are demanding a wage increase. We can only see one way out for the miners at the moment. The state must immediately provide concessions for those producing the country's most important product.

Agricultural

Abandoning State, Collective Farms Viewed

PM2011164391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2207 GMT 17 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] Now to another professional holiday for those working on the land. How are we to feed the country? That question has already become commonplace in our newspapers. Going from one extreme to the other, we

almost teach people that the general collectivization of the thirties equates to the uncontrolled development of all-out privatization. Obviously, our agro-industrial complex must change. The future may lie with a mixed system. The less painful this process is, the faster we will emerge from the crisis, but it is foolish to abandon the traditional, relatively profitable structures.

[Yu.A. Rusinov, director of Kalinin State Farm] There are no bankrupt farms here because our livestock units are relatively well-off, but I must say that during the past 30 years none of our debts to the state have ever been written off.

Early Nov Weather, Crop Conditions Given

924A0205A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 14 Nov 91 p 1

[Article by agrometeorologist I. Mikheyev: "Weather and Plantings"]

[Text] On the European territory of the country northwest of the line of Uzhgorod-Gomel-Moscow-Kostroma-Yekaterinburg the average 10-day air temperature was close to the average over many years, and southeast of this line it was 2 to 3 degrees lower. The largest quantity of precipitation (11-22 millimeters and more) fell in the Baltics, Belarus [Belorussia], the Northwestern region, the southwest of the Central region, and a large part of the Northern region.

In Moldova and the south and west of the Ukraine winter grain crops resumed growth during the second half of the 10-day period. In the Northern Caucasian region the growth and development of these crops were observed during a large part of the 10-day period.

On the rest of the territory of the European part of the country the growth of winter grain crops had practically not resumed. The conditions for going through the first phase of tempering in the northwest and south of the territory were unsatisfactory because of the prevalence of cloudy, rainy weather.

In Western Siberia winter grain crops were in a condition of winter dormancy, most of them covered with snow.

In the Transcaucasian republics the rains augmented the supplies of productive moisture in the plowed layer of soil. The conditions for the appearance and development of shoots improved.

In the south of Kazakhstan and certain regions of the republics of Central Asia, the rains moistened the upper layer of soil somewhat, but the supplies of productive moisture for winter crops on non-irrigated land remained inadequate or poor. Planted areas in these regions were basically in the phase of sprouting of the grain, and only on certain sections could one observe the beginning of shoots.

Planting is continuing in these regions.

Scientific

Cosmos-2171 Earth Satellite Launched 20 Nov

LD2111091691 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—The Cosmos-2171 earth satellite, the next in turn, was launched by the Soyuz carrier rocket on November 20. Research instruments installed on board the satellites [as received], which are intended for the continuation of space exploration, are functioning normally. The coordination computer centre is processing the incoming information.

Military

Resolution on Armed Forces, Draft Issued

PM2111141591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[USSR State Council 14 November 1991 resolution "On the Status of the USSR Armed Forces and Backup for the Draft of Citizens to Active Military Service in the Fall of 1991"]

[Text] In the interests of preserving the unity of the USSR Armed Forces and observing the USSR's international commitments in the military field, with a view to the steady control of the troops and naval forces and backup for their functioning, the USSR State Council resolves:

1. To preserve on the territory of the sovereign republics (states) the status of the Armed Forces stipulated by existing USSR legislation.

2. To approve the proposal on the formation, under the USSR Defense Ministry, of a consultative organ—the council of defense ministers (chairmen of defense committees) of the sovereign republics (states).

Within a month the USSR Defense Ministry must submit to the USSR president a draft provision on this council.

3. The USSR Defense Ministry and the organs of executive power of the sovereign republics (states) must ensure on their territories the organized implementation of the draft of citizens to active service in the fall of 1991 in the volumes agreed by the USSR Armed Forces General Staff with the governments of the sovereign republics (states).

The local organs of executive power and military management must be obliged to ensure the work of the draft commissions in accordance with the USSR Law "on universal military service" and with a consideration for the fulfillment of the agreed volumes for the draft of the young reinforcement and the demands of staffing the troops stationed on the territories of other republics and also the planned dispatch of draftee contingents to the

troops (or navy). It is recommended that representatives of public movements and organizations be enlisted to take part in this work.

4. The USSR Defense Ministry must be instructed to elaborate proposals for transferring to the management of the sovereign republics (states) the troops and organs of management of the USSR Civil Defense on their territories and of local organs of military management (military commissariats), defense sport and technical organizations, and military construction detachments (units) sent for the use of civilian ministries and departments and in addition for transferring road construction units to the management of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic with the relevant republics being assigned the functions of financing them, providing them with backup, and staffing them. Provision must be made for the organs of state power and management of the USSR to retain the right to use these troops (units) in wartime.

The USSR Defense Ministry must conclude agreements on these questions with the sovereign republics (states).

5. The draft USSR law "on the introduction of changes to the USSR law 'on universal military service'" must be approved and it must be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The USSR State Council, Moscow, Kremlin

Colonel Warns Shaposhnikov of Another Coup

LD2211001991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] A member of the Commission for Abolishing Military- Political Structures in the Soviet Armed Forces, Doctor of Philosophy Colonel Vitaliy Kovalevskiy, retired, has warned the USSR defense minister, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, is surrounded by supporters of his predecessor, Dmitriy Yazov. Dmitriy Yazov is currently being investigated on charges of participation in the government coup last August.

Col. Kovalevskiy warns that another conspiracy is likely to emerge in the Chief Political Department of the Armed Forces. He said that generals were planting their people everywhere so as to make preparations for another coup.

Political Bodies Liquidation Committee Meets

Leaders' Activities 'Denounced'

LD2111222591 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—The majority of the Defence Ministry political bodies liquidation committee members at its session today have denounced the activity of the Soviet military leadership. Dmitriy Volkogonov, the chairman of the committee, which is meant to create new military personnel training bodies and structures, is on leave now and the session was chaired by his deputy, Colonel Vladimir Lopatin.

Lopatin pointed out the committee has worked out 22 documents over the past two months but only 6 of them are being implemented. Many of the committee's decisions are too slow in reaching the soldiers as the documents are hampered by the leaders of the Defence Ministry.

News Conference Held

PM2211100191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin: "Commission Completes Work"]

[Text] Moscow—On 19 November a routine news conference was held by Colonel General D. Volkogonov, chairman of the USSR Defense Ministry commission for the abolition of military-political organs and the creation of combat training organs and structures for work with the personnel in the USSR Armed Forces. Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy and Colonel V. Lopatin also took part.

Addressing journalists, Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov said that no one at present really knows what the Armed Forces will be like. Yes, we would like them to remain united or to become amalgamated but it is not ruled out that they will become national. It depends not only on the attractive programs put forward but also on a number of sociopolitical and historical realities which today dictate many decisions. The work connected with the abolition of former political organs was performed in this key.

What they had to do, many believed, was not simply to reform the political organs, not simply to change their label, but to create fundamentally new organs. By a decision of the USSR defense minister a committee for work with the personnel has been created in the Armed Forces and Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy has been appointed its chairman.

The ministry's new structure will have no party-political functions. One of its subdivisions will start to engage in the sociolegal protection of servicemen, another in questions of information, and yet another in questions of culture. At all levels the commanders' assistants for work with the personnel have been deprived of power-based functions. They are solely assistants.

As a whole, the numerical strength of the new structures will be approximately 55 percent of the numbers of former political workers, of whom there were nearly 80,000. It is true that hotheads suggested axing all former political workers and releasing them into the reserve. That is an utterly incorrect approach, because we have

all emerged from the same system and no one today can consider himself absolutely clean and purified.

All the generals who were political workers have been reassessed. Of 345 men about 20 will continue to serve. All the others will be released because of the impossibility of making further use of them in the Armed Forces.

The commission for the abolition of the political organs will complete its work by 1 December. It has only one session left to hold.

Colonel General D. Volkogonov, Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, and Colonel V. Lopatin answered numerous questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

Chairman Remarks

LD2211110991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2015 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] All the agonizing processes that are taking place in the renewal of Russia directly affect the armed forces. This was stated by Dmitriy Volkogonov, chairman of the commission of the USSR Ministry of Defense on the abolition of the military-political bodies and on the creation of combat training bodies and structures for working with the personnel of the Armed Forces of the USSR. The name of the commission is very long, but no smaller are the problems linked with the abolition of the institution of the commissar in the Army. At a news conference it was stated that a committee for personnel work has been established at the Ministry of Defense. General Gennadiy Stefanovskiy has been appointed leader. The details are in this report from our special correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov:

[Begin recording] [Osipov] Dmitriy Volkogonov observed that although we have all emerged from the same system, the servicemen of the future will be educated on new humanitarian principles. What is going to happen to the old guard, or to the army of political workers? After all, there are up to 80,000 of them. It was stated that half this number will have to seek other work outside the structures of the Army. Out of 345 generals who have been in charge of the ideological processing of the personnel, between 20 and 25 will remain in the Army ranks. The remainder will be discharged because it will be impossible to use them.

Practically all the military-political colleges are being abolished. The military-political academy named for Lenin is being turned into a humanitarian academy. It is expected that from 1992 onward the list of subjects in which servicemen are trained will include humanitarian training instead of Marxist-Leninist training for officers and political studies for other ranks. The emphasis in humanitarian training will be on the history of the country and the army and on raising the legal awareness of servicemen. Dmitriy Volkogonov had the following observations:

[Volkogonov] We wanted to retain the young element in the army on the basis of these issues and principles. You must understand that we simply could not fail to act. Imagine young lieutenants and captains if they were simply torn away. That would not be right. I think that people like Zhirinovskiy would start looking for a future bulwark among these people. In our very troubled, alarming, and extremely dangerous times, we have tried to act on principles of humanism, expediency, and respect for the human personality.

[Osipov] What is the fate of the special propaganda detachments in the Army?

[Volkogonov] They will not be called psychological special propaganda detachments. They will apparently be in a directorate known as psychological defense. I think that we are on the threshold of some very important things. In order for us to survive and rise up and ensure security, we need not so much build our military muscle as to try to integrate ourselves into the European system of collective security and then into the world system. Of course, this has to be done in such a way as not to lose national dignity, taking the realities soberly into account. I think that specialists will be needed for all of these processes; specialists who will work in psychological defense sub-detachments.

[Osipov] Despite the fact that the news conference was devoted to the former political bodies in the Armed Forces, questions about the future of the all-Union Army were asked. This was the reply:

[Volkogonov] We have repeatedly expressed thoughts about the desirability of preserving the Armed Forces as a single entity [yedinyye vooruzhennyye sily]. The chances are getting fewer and fewer. I think that considerable chances remain for keeping united armed forces [obyedinennyye vooruzhennyye sily]. It would be possible to conclude a military-political treaty between the Union republics, which would mean the main or some of the formations being under single leadership. If all the republics are going to continue military construction and the creation of Armed Forces, Russia will be left with no alternative but to declare the creation of a national Russian army. Let me stress: This will not be its choice; this is undesirable. Even the most modest calculations indicate that the creation of national armed forces on the territory of the former Union will require two and one-half times as much in terms of resources as now being spent on defense. We are striving to ensure that united armed forces are preserved.

[Osipov] Volkogonov also observed that the changes will affect not only cadre officers but officers in the political corps of the reserves. The majority of journalists belong to this category of officer reserves. All of us will soon be given a new registered military trade. The USSR State Council has resolved that the Armed Forces of the Union situated on the territories of the sovereign republics will remain all-Union forces. It is the civil defense troops, the military commissariats, the defense sports and technical organizations, and the military-technical detachments that are being transferred to the jurisdiction of the

republics. The republics will finance and put together these sub-detachments, although the Union authorities retain the right to use them in wartime, the resolution says. The State Council approved the proposal to set up a Council of Ministers of Defense of the sovereign states, a consultative body under the USSR Ministry of Defense.

Lieutenant General Valeriy Manilov, head of the information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Defense, told journalists that the USSR military budget in 1992 will fall by approximately 5 to 6 billion rubles at prices comparable to those of 1991. At the new prices the figures will be greater than comparable indicators for last year by a factor of 2-2.5 times. The precise figures will become known somewhat later. One can already speak with confidence about the achievement of a firm understanding with the republics in the financing of the Union Ministry of Defense, Gen Manilov said. According to him, the pay of servicemen is going to be raised in the very near future by an average of 50 percent. Manilov also announced that on 18 November the minister of defense signed an order setting up a committee for personnel work. It will deal with issues concerning the legal and social protection of servicemen. [end recording]

Far East Commander on Kurils Withdrawal

PM2211102191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[By unidentified correspondent under the "Direct Line" rubric: "What the Commanding General Said to PRIAMURSKIYE VEDOMOSTI"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA published an item 13 November entitled "Soviet Troops Will Leave South Kurils," which the editorial office received through the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY. It stated that the withdrawal of troops stationed on islands in the Kuril chain will begin this year. The RIA correspondent reported that this had been declared by the commander of the Far East Military District, Colonel General V. Novozhilov, in an interview with the newspaper PRIAMURSKIYE VEDOMOSTI [Amur Record].

It has emerged that there was some inaccuracy here. In answer to questions from the PRIAMURSKIYE VEDOMOSTI correspondent, the commanding officer said in particular that this question is being studied in Moscow right now. Viktor Ivanovich suggested: I think that we will receive an order on the partial withdrawal of servicemen from islands in the South Kuril chain before the New Year.

As for complete troop withdrawal, the commander noted in conclusion, I am wholly in favor of this. I have already submitted such a proposal to the Union Ministry of Defense. It envisages at the same time a certain increase in the strength of border guards to protect our territory. If Moscow supports us, the region will, first, have greater confidence in the country and, second, we will be able to save a large amount of money which will be spent on supporting the personnel billeted on the islands and ensuring food supplies for them.

Official Interviewed on Su-27 Export Decision

OW2211030991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2046 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX, Mr. Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy chairman of the Interrepublic Economic Committee, said that next week a final decision will be reached as to where the Soviet Union will export its multi-target Su-27 destroyer. He said that determining which countries will be permitted to buy the destroyers is a political decision. Mass production of the Su-27s began in 1988. Experts consider that the Su-27 is one of the best airplanes of its type in the world. Last month, the export ban on the Su-27 and the MiG-29 destroyer was lifted.

Commander Remarks on Air Show Participation

PM2111145991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by V. Konnov, A. Zhukov]

[Text] It was the first time that Malaysia had organized an international air show. And, in the general opinion of the participants, it was successful. Around 20 countries presented models of their equipment, including military hardware. And they demonstrated the art of aerobatics. The Soviet part of the exhibition included Il-76 and An-124 airliners and Mi-17 and Ka-29 helicopters as well as the fighters that generate constant interest—MiG-29 and Su-27. This hardware had been demonstrated earlier, but our approach to it is new. A sign of the times is the Russia flag over our aircraft. And equally important is the businesslike approach to things that could be of use to the country at this difficult time.

[P.S. Deynekin, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister] To my mind, despite the fact that the Soviet Air Force is taking part in such an air show for the first time—and in this region, in particular—the first previews have shown that Soviet military hardware, and in particular Soviet pilots, look good. We have already had some offers for joint exploitation of our aviation equipment, and I think that if things continue to develop in this direction we will find a common economic interest and, above all, some benefit for our country and the Armed Forces.

Soldiers Express 'Pain' Over Union Collapse

PM2111142991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report from St. Petersburg by V. Batalov, S. Gelbakh]

[Text] [Announcer] Today is Rocket Forces and Artillery Day and Agricultural Workers Day. Our future lives depend in many respects on both.

[Batalov] Every generation has a major battle to face. Our great-grandfathers had one, so did our grandfathers and our fathers. And today's servicemen have one too. To preserve the country and not turn it into a battlefield. Officers and men have spoken to me with bitterness and pain about the current situation in the Armed Forces. Now that the Union has started splitting up, weapons have started being divided among the republics. Now that the Army is being dragged into an acute political struggle. Remember Tbilisi, Lithuania... A great burden was shouldered by the officers and men at that time. Sometimes whole generations have not experienced what people in the Army have been going through. After all, these are our children, our sons and grandsons. Surely they now have the moral right to say: "I have had the honor of serving in the Russian Army." The misfortunes and anxieties of our society appear to be concentrated in the troops. [Video shows troops]. Despite the difficulties, today's gunners pray to their god of artillery. They are striving to master their science at training classes and on the test ranges.

Defense Industry Trade Union Examines 'Losses'

LD2111135691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1729 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—The multi-million [no units given] losses connected with the absence of a planned, well designed procedure for the conversion of the defense industry are being passed on to this branch's enterprises—and ultimately to the working people. This was admitted by the participants in the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the trade union for the workers of the USSR defense industry. As was noted at the plenum, the enterprises undergoing conversion have incured losses of 3.3 billion rubles which, as was expected, should be compensated from the all-Union stabilization fund. But this did not happen because the fund has "passed away," while the Union budget deficit has reached an astronomic figure.

In order to save the working collectives from financial ruin, the trade union has suggested that half the profits from the sale of military equipment and armaments, over a period of 3 years, be channelled back to the enterprises undergoing conversion. The instability of the enterprises' financial situation, and the low—by present standards—incomes (the average earnings in the branch are about 460 rubles), have resulted in an exodus of highly qualified specialists into other spheres of the economy. In an appeal to the USSR minister of defense, the participants in the plenum have pointed out the rapid development of this particular tendency.

Baltic Affairs

Cooperation With Nordic Nations Planned

OW2111232691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Maris Budovskis, the representative of the Latvian parliament who participated in the work of the 4th session of the Nordic Council as an observer, said in Riga that "the admission of the (former Soviet) Baltic nations into the Nordic Council would now be a premature and politically ungrounded step. According to him, at present "other forms of cooperation between the Nordic countries and the Baltics must be sought."

He emphasized that the Baltics are planning to cooperate with the Nordic countries in transport and communications, and the project of a Baltic Investment Bank is still on the agenda. The bank's charter capital will be $360,000,000. The Nordic countries will provide 70% of the capital, the Baltics, 20%, and international financial agencies, 10%.

Lithuania May Use Baltic Assembly Politically

OW2111225791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 21 the Estonian parliament confirmed its delegation to the Interparliamentary Assembly of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Parliamentarian Mart Laar said that he was convinced that though it had been decided to have the assembly perform as a consultative body, Lithuania will try to make it a coordinating structure. Deputy Kaido Kama agreed. "No one but Landsbergis needs the Baltic Assembly in order to make political capital," emphasized he. Chairwoman of the Estonian delegation to the conference to establish a Baltic Assembly, Marju Lauristin dismissed accusations that the Estonians had been led by the Lithuanians and agreed with Mr Laar.

Estonia

Republic 'Cannot Cope' Without Western Aid

OW2111185591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1739 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia cannot cope without Western aid, said the Estonian Finance Minister Rein Miller. He said in an interview with BF [BALTFAX] that it is not yet known where Western money will be invested—in economic development or it will be spent to tide over the difficult period, i.e., on the purchase of food, medicine, etc. However, the Estonians hope that Estonia will receive essentials as food aid, emphasized Mr Miller.

To date Estonia has not received a single credit.

Purchase of Fuel From West Considered

OW2111184591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1739 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Riho Sild, Estonia's first deputy minister of industry and power engineering, has told journalists in Tallinn that his republic is discussing the purchase of fuel from the West. He said a temporary depot had been equipped in the Tallinn port to receive black oil due to begin arriving from abroad as of mid-December.

Mr Sild said that nearly one-third of November's imports of benzine had been obtained through Russia's exchanges. He confirmed that all firms and individuals were entitled to bring benzine in any quantities to Estonia.

According to R. Sild, since the beginning of this month Estonia had imported 13,000 tons of benzine, 11,000 tons of diesel fuel and 73,000 tons of black oil. The republic's daily fuel consumption amounted to 1,300 tons of benzine and 4,000 tons of black oil.

Although petrol was still not sold to individual buyers, Mr Sild expressed the hope that limited amounts of it would be made available to car owners later in November.

Supports EC Sanctions Against Yugoslavia

OW2111184991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1739 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 19 the Estonian government decided to support the EC's economic sanctions against Yugoslavia and, should the UN Security Council vote for more sanctions, to support them too.

On November 17 the Estonian Foreign Ministry received a message from Holland's embassy in Helsinki that asked Estonia to support the EC sanctions on Yugoslavia (Holland is currently chairman of the EC). The decision on economic sanctions against Yugoslavia had been taken by the EC on November 8.

Official: $7 Million in Earnings Estimated

OW2111232791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Under the Estonian budget for 1992, Estonia plans $7 mn [million] in hard currency earnings to come [into] its treasury, said Estonia's Finance Minister Rein Miller to BALTFAX.

The hard currency is to come from taxes from juridical and physical persons. Mr Miller emphasized that the 7 mn is "a very small amount" and expressed the hope that Estonia would be able to earn more.

Railways To Function Independently as of 1 Jan

LD2211055891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Beginning in the new year, Estonia will have railways of her own. The Estonian Railways state enterprise will start work, instead of being the present Estonian Railways of the Baltic Railways. This has been reported by the Baltic News Service agency. According to (?Mark Kolli), first deputy head of Estonian Railways, active work is in progress at the moment to achieve and ensure independence. The heads of Baltic branches of the Baltic Railways and heads of several working groups will be meeting the deputy USSR transport minister on 26 November in order to continue concrete talks. Estonia will be represented at the talks by Yakob (?Leshkin), head of the railways.

No Ruling on Status of Soviet Citizens

OW2111232391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian parliament failed to rule on version four of the bill on the status of Soviet and other countries' nationals in Estonia. Parliamentary speaker Ulo Nugis had to stop deliberations because the discussion "was overrunning time." Under the project, "the Estonian Republic is not legally obligated to give Estonian citizenship to the Soviet citizens who permanently live in Estonia, who arrived when Estonia was occupied and annexed, and against the will of the Estonian Republic and its citizens."

The project was not supported by the Estonian parliament's legislation commission.

Second Air Assault Battalion Disbanded

OW2111185291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1739 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's state minister Raivo Vare said in Estonian parliament on November 19 that a second air-assault battalion that had been stationed near the town of Vyru had been disbanded and its equipment had been moved out of Estonia. Not all officers left Estonia, said Mr Vare. Some of them were transferred to other military units on the republican territory.

Auction of Moscow-Run Enterprises Cancelled

OW2111225691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Heiki Randmaa, deputy director of the Tallinn International Exchange of Economic Information, has said that the plan to auction off a number of Estonian enterprises to foreign buyers on November 22 has been canceled.

He explained the measure by "the absence of a law regulating the sale of enterprises to foreign businessmen."

According to Mr Randmaa, the initial plan was to fully or partially sell for hard currency 10 to 15 enterprises that used to be subordinated directly to Moscow until recently. He declined, however, to specify what particular enterprises were to be put on sale.

Latvia

Supply Exchange Negotiated With Belorussia

OW2111163091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1529 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A government delegation from Belarus [Belorussia] led by the Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, Vladimir Khripach, arrived in Riga yesterday.

The purpose of the visit is to negotiate mutual supplies of manufactured goods and raw materials. Preliminary agreements have been reached in accordance with which Latvia is to provide Belarus with metal goods, chemical fibres, rubber goods, minibuses, agricultural machinery, industrial spares, building materials, equipment for telephone exchanges and food. Belarus is to send to Latvia petrol and other liquid fuel, tyres for motor vehicles, mineral fertilisers, agricultural machinery, building materials, fabrics, footwear and food.

Goods Supply Talks Continue With Republics

LD2211055491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Discussions are continuing on the mutual supplies of manufactured and consumer goods, and technology between Latvia and former USSR republics for 1992. Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis has called this the most important economic task for the new government. Thus, today a delegation from Latvia has set off for Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to settle an agreement, while a delegation from Belorussia has arrived in Riga. Meanwhile, the leader of the Latvian delegation in talks with Russia, (?Ilmars Kirksis), has said that for next year the Russian side has stated its insistence that all the main

accounts will be settled in freely convertible currencies. However, uncertainty about prices of the main forms of raw materials and products does not, for the time being, allow agreement on supplies of many very important raw materials, such as petroleum, nonferrous metals, and several raw materials for the chemical industry. At the moment the prices of as many as forty types of raw materials are not satisfactory to Latvia for the volume envisaged in the agreements.

OMON Leader's Arrest Believed Legitimate

OW2111162691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1529 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Deputy Public Prosecutor of the Latvian Republic, Jazeps Ancans, has told a BF [BALTFAX] correspondent that a department head from the Russian Public Prosecutor's Office, Grigoriy Lainer and prosecutor Vadim Znamensky have arrived in Latvia.

They came in connection with the protest lodged by the USSR Procurator-General, Nikolay Trubin, after one of the commanders of the Riga branch of OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], Sergey Parfonov, was arrested. Mr. Trubin considers the arrest to be illegal.

According to Mr. Ancans, the Russian officials have investigated the case and come to the conclusion that there were "sufficient legal reasons" for the arrest, and that "the arrest itself was carried out in a perfectly legitimate manner."

Riga, Daugavpils, Liepaja Elections Cancelled

OW2111162891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1529 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In spite of active protests on the part of the opposition, the Latvian Parliament has decided to cancel the elections of people's deputies in Constituency No. 62 in Riga, Constituency No. 78 in Daugavpils and Constituency No. 96 in Liepaja scheduled for December 15.

The reason is that the number of voters in each of them is smaller than the minimum laid down by the election legislation.

These are largely Russian-speaking constituencies, whose population includes servicemen.

Parliament has decided that the constituencies should be reorganised. Meanwhile it vested deputies from neighbouring constituencies—Maris Budovskis in Riga, Yevgeniy Drobot in Daugavpils and Janis Lagzdins in Liepaja—with powers to represent the three above-mentioned ones.

Supreme Council Confirms Eight New Ministers

LD2211095691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] On 19 November, on the recommendation of Ivars Godmanis, the Latvian parliament confirmed eight new ministers. Appointed as minister of defense is Talavs Jundzis; as minister of foreign trade, Edgars Zausajevs; as minister of economic reform, Arnis Kalnins; as minister of welfare, (Teodors Enins); as minister of forestry, Kazimirs Slakota; and as minister of industry and energy, Aivars Millers. Confirmed as Minister of Maritime Affairs was (Andrejs Dansbergs), and in the post of minister of state, Janis Dinevics.

The deputies of the Supreme Council also changed the law on elections. Previously it was stipulated that deputies cannot take on ministerial posts. It will be different in the future. Deputies will be able to assume ministerial posts and be members of the government. As of 19 November, the post of minister of internal affairs remained vacant. It was declined by Deputy Aivars Endzins of the Supreme Council. The candidates for minister of internal affairs will be considered anew at a plenary meeting of the Supreme Council on 20 November.

The following ministers will remain in their previous posts: Minister of Finance Elmars Silins, Minister of Education Andris Piebalgs, Minister of Culture Raimonds Pauls, Minister of Agriculture Dainis Gegers, Minister of Transport Janis Janovskis, and Architecture and Construction Minister Aivars Prusis.

Lett Emigres Seek Latvian Citizenship

OW2111230091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2040 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 21 the session of the All-Union Organisation of Free Letts underway in Riga, the biggest Lett emigre organisation, discussed the citizenship issue. The meeting decided in favour of a citizenship law that would give Latvian citizenship to the Letts living outside Latvia.

The organisation decided to call on the Latvian parliament to hold a Sejm election, in conformity with the 1922 republican law, not later than early October 1992. The session called on the Latvian parliament to allow only the Latvian citizens who were republican citizens before 1940 and their offspring, no matter where they live and what citizenship they have, to vote in the election.

Lithuania

Diplomatic Relations Established With Armenia

OW2111162491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1529 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The foreign ministers of Lithuania and Armenia, Algirdas Saudargas and Rafi Ovanesian, have today signed an act on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states on the level of embassies.

Diplomatic Ties Protocol Signed With Ukraine

LD2211002691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas and Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Makarevich today signed in Vilnius a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations. It will come into force when the foreign ministries exchange notes. It is expected that this will happen before the end of the year.

A protocol on consultations between the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Ministry was also signed.

Vagnorius Congratulates Shevardnadze on Post

LD2211001691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius today congratulated Eduard Shevardnadze on the occasion of his appointment as USSR minister of foreign relations. In a telegram sent today he expresses the hope that this appointment will contribute to the speeding up of the negotiations between Vilnius and Moscow and the development of mutual relations and cooperation.

Eduard Shevardnadze, who is the head of the Soviet negotiators with Lithuania, stated yesterday to journalists that his new duties are very suited to heading the negotiations, but he noted that the head of the negotiations with Lithuania may now be changed.

This possibility has also been pointed out by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, who, meeting journalsits today, assessed the appointment of Eduard Shevardnadze to the post of the minister of foreign relations as an attempt by the Soviet leadership to prolong the existence making use of foreign capital—or to use Eduard Shevardnadze's good name in the world.

Republic Foreign Policy Problems Viewed

PM2211110591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[Special correspondents N. Lashkevich and A. Shalnev report: "In Lithuania, Abroad..."]

[Text] Vilnius—The foreign minister of Lithuania, a sovereign and independent country, travels on foreign visits on... a Soviet diplomatic passport.

The Lithuanian state does not yet have its own diplomatic passports. They are still being printed and produced. They will appear soon, of course, but meanwhile this anomaly has to be tolerated, and the minister himself accepts it with stoical calm and even indifference: "What is so strange about this?" he says, responding to our question with a question.

Calm also showed through distinctly in the way that Darryl Johnson, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in Lithuania, told us about an episode that is extraordinary by all the diplomatic canons—about how he had had an attache case stolen from him at Vilnius Airport containing masses of papers of all possible kinds and, word had it, a personal message from U.S. State Secretary James Baker to Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman V. Landsbergis.

Fortunately, this was not a personal message from the head of the U.S. foreign policy department, but only an invitation from ex-President Ronald Reagan to the opening somewhere or other in California of the Reagan Library, as they call the museum of former heads of state in the United States, using Aesopian language.

The theft occurred in the final week of October; the culprits have not yet been found, and advertisements in the newspapers requesting "Please return if found"—unprecedented advertisements, it may be said: Well, have you ever seen "Lost by a U.S. diplomat..." before?—have also had no results.

There are still no results either to the search for the $12,000 stolen the other day from the Italian ambassador's hotel room—along with an unspecified sum in rubles. A strange ambassador: In Rome he probably would never have left money or valuables in a hotel room; he would have been a little more careful. What did he count on in Vilnius? On the simplicity of manners, maybe?

One more report from the crime chronicles department: A Norwegian airplane was looted while on the ground at Vilnius Airport. The most valuable goods were taken: alcoholic goods. Nine bottles.

Incidents of this kind have become so frequent that the police have had to set up a special security detachment, "Skidas," designed to defend diplomats from the impulses of the local malefactors. Moreover, the entry system in hotels is being tightened up: "Visting card" checks are being carried out in such a way that you would not think that it was happening in Lithuania, a foreign country, but in nonforeign Muscovy, for example.

Becoming a "foreign country," Lithuania, so it seems to those of us who have only been here on the odd flying

visit, has not, however, lost its old piety toward foreigners, with whom relations are based on that traditional principle of ours: Give them the very best, and give them it first. (The fact that they even rob them now especially often is also a kind of tribute of respect. As if they were saying to them: If anything is still held to be of any value at all, it is only what you have. Or what you have on.)

When the question arose as to where to locate the embassies of foreign states—and let us recall that about one-half of the member countries of the United Nations have already recognized Lithuania—the authorities' choice was either to construct new buildings or to settle the foreign diplomats in private residences, having first expelled the present inhabitants. Preference was given to the second option: It is planned to evict 71 families in total, thereby making available an area of almost 4,000 square meters. Several eminent figures of the former Soviet Lithuania and their families have ended up among the "victims" of the solution of the problem of housing foreigners. But the irresistible force has met the immovable object. For instance, they simply cannot get rid of the widow of Griskiavicius, the former first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, who occupies an eight-room detached house measuring just over 150 meters square, entirely suitable, in the city council's view, for some diplomatic mission.

However, at a recent news conference Vice Premier Z. Vaisvila announced that the likelihood of building a whole diplomatic campus in Vilnius had not been ruled out, and then the huge pile of unsolved problems involved in accomodating the diplomats would be removed of itself.

But if the problems for some foreigners are mainly to do with accommodation, for others they are far more complicated.

"Why is a Russian Embassy taking so long to set up in Vilnius?" we asked Foreign Minister A. Saudargas.

"Diplomatic relations have been established with Russia and the protocols on the exchange of ambassadors have been signed," he replied, his answer turning out to be more of a statement of fact than an explanation. "But we have not yet got down to realizing the plans. I hope that we will settle this question in the very near future."

In all probability the question's solution will be linked to how Soviet-Lithuanian interstate talks proceed. But these talks have not even gotten off to a proper start. The unofficial conversation which took place the other day in Moscow between C. Stankiavicius, vice chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, and E. Shevardnadze, the head of the Soviet delegation, the composition of which remains unknown, can hardly be called talks. In the vice president's view, which he voiced directly after the conversation, the Soviet Union is not fully ready for dialogue.

Meanwhile, it is obvious that dragging out the negotiating process, one of the key items on the agenda of which is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania, will only give rise to new problems and complexities. Indeed, it is doing so already. The military's nerves are beginning to play up because of the utter confusion. Already there have been two ultimatums from the servicemen of Vilnius Garrison and the Kaunas Airborne Assault Division, declaring that they will not move from their places until suitable social and living conditions are created for them in a new place of deployment.

National minorities also feel uncomfortable. Many Russians in Lithuania cannot understand why the "embassy" question is dragging on. When all is said and done, they—especially those of them who have not taken up Lithuanian citizenship and have therefore become foreigners, but by no means foreigners of the first category, that is, Westerners—would feel happier and, perhaps, more confident under the legal roof of a Russian Embassy in Vilnius.

Analyzing what the Lithuanian foreign minister told us about the prospects for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, one cannot help but note that the Lithuanian authorities' recent propensity for brutal ultimatums has disappeared. At any rate, it is not so glaringly obvious. We asked the minister two or three times to give us an exact definition of what is meant by "immediate [nezamedlitelnyy] withdrawal." Each time the minister avoided specifics, although only quite recently Vilnius was naming quite clear-cut deadlines: before the end of the year, no later. This despite the fact that it should have been clear to everyone that this was absolutely unrealistic.

We also touched on the topic of troop withdrawals in conversation with the U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim. We did this not by accident: There is a growing campaign in the U.S. Congress demanding that Soviet troops leave the territory of the Baltic states as a matter of urgency [srochno]. The draft resolution, proposed by Senator O. Hatch, assesses the presence of Soviet troops as a "threat to the peace and security" of these states, and contains recommendations to President George Bush to "appeal to the USSR president to begin immediately the urgent [srochnyy] withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces."

In the Congress House of Representatives the question is put more seriously: It directly links the question of the troops with the United States granting economic aid to the USSR. The idea is this: No withdrawal, no aid.

For the idea to become policy, it must be passed through both houses and confirmed by the President. There are definite doubts as to whether this will happen—that it will happen quickly, at any rate. The White House, it is thought, is ready to support—and does support—the demands of Vilnius and the other Baltic capitals on the withdrawal of Soviet troops, but not to the extent of being prepared to switch to an ultimatum tone and link this question with the question of economic aid. The U.S. Administration understands perfectly well that

withdrawal is inevitable, that it will happen—within a realistic time frame. It is of no use to use pressure, not because this would perhaps anger the Kremlin and Moscow's White House, but because there is no way that the withdrawal can be squeezed into several months, let alone weeks. Different parameters are necessary.

It is clear, however, that the presence of troops will increase the uncertainty which characterizes the situation in Lithuania—not so much the current situation as the situation which will arise in the foreseeable future and which is seriously stalling the penetration en masse of Western business into this state. According to information reported to us, representatives of only a dozen U.S. companies have visited Lithuania within the past two months. This is monstrously little.

The causes? One of the most important is uncertainty as to what will happen with the Lithuanian economy when what is being warned about—or threatened—in Vilnius and in Moscow is carried out: When, for instance, Lithuania switches to Lits [mooted Lithuanian currency] and Russia to its own new rubles.

The United States understands perfectly—and D. Johnson drew our attention to this several times in the course of our conversation—that there can be no instant decisions in a situation in which 85 percent of the Lithuanian economy is linked to the Soviet economy. That is the first instance. Second, Western businessmen cannot fail to see also that the Lithuanian Administration has not yet created the conditions which would help them to do business in Lithuania. Either it has been unable, unwilling, or simply has not had time to do so. We have heard complaints, for example, that, as one Western businessman put it, the registration procedures are "very tedious"; that the tax levied on the profits of 100-percent foreign companies is greater than that which is levied, say, from joint companies; that the customs control problems are severe; that there is no law covering commercial banks, and no confidence in the mechanisms of currency exchange; that some ministries and departments are run by the same old functionaries, following the traditions and the style of work which they worked out in pre-independence times. On the whole, in the businessman's words, "Lithuania does not yet have a normal market."

True, Prime Minister G. Vagnorius, having recently completed a tour of a number of Asian countries and the United States, returned especially resolved to secure the necessary conditions for foreign entrepreneurs. There is a plan, for instance, to make foreign capital tax-free if the assets are invested in Lithuanian enterprises and if these enterprises have been leased for a term of five years. So, of course, a "normal market" will come. The question is—when?

And apparently another restraining factor must be mentioned: the doubts provoked by the way in which the process in Lithuania of rehabilitating those condemned for political motives by the former authorities is proceeding. It turns out that among those who have been rehabilitated are war criminals. The scandal arising in this connection on the pages of THE NEW YORK TIMES, which first reported that the rehabilitated include criminals, has been deemed large-scale provocation in Vilnius.

To our question as to whether this scandal had affected relations between Vilnius and Washington, the Lithuanian foreign minister answered indignantly: And what have interstate relations to do with this? We are talking about THE NEW YORK TIMES...

This is a substantial underestimation of the influence which the paper enjoys in the United States and the effect it may have—and is having—on the decision making processes in the United States, on political, economic, and financial decisions. And the topic raised by the newspaper has extremely serious import in the United States; therefore, to expect everything to turn out fine and interstate relations not to be affected is not very farsighted. The conversations which one of our number had with U.S. businessmen at the very time the scandal flared up in THE NEW YORK TIMES gave a sufficiently clear impression that if Vilnius does not give clear explanations of just who has been rehabilitated, and if rehabilitation is not withdrawn from people who are indeed guilty of war crimes, U.S. business—not all of it, naturally, but the major part—will seriously think about how expedient it is to go into Lithuania with their investments.

President Landsbergis, who visited the United States in the early fall, tried to dispel doubts on this score, meeting in particular with leaders of New York's Jewish community. But it would evidently be premature to say that the doubts had been dispelled once and for all. But it would appear that the fog is beginning to lift. The other day V. Landsbergis received D. Johnson and (Michael McKuen), an official of the U.S. Ministry of Justice Special Investigations Administration. The Americans have already been granted permission to work in Lithuanian archives, and in the near future it is planned to sign with this administration agreements on the investigation of crimes against humanity committed during World War II.

If U.S. President George Bush comes to the Baltic next spring, this topic will be on the agenda of his talks with Lithuanian leaders—just as it has already entered the agenda at other levels. The possibility of the visit was reported the other day by the weekly US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. The Lithuanian foreign minister did not confirm or deny this report. But the visit is possible in view of how many immigrants from the Baltic countries there are in the United States, and how important their votes will be in the presidential elections in November 1992.

Incidentally, while gathering material for these notes we enquired whether Americans of Lithuanian extraction

would be willing to go to their—let us put it this way—biological homeland. As regards permanent residence, the answer is very unwilling—people wishing to do so are literally in single figures. On the other hand, there are masses of people wishing to go as tourists or for similar purposes. Those who go are trying to find out how it might be possible to have the property which they, or their forefathers, owned in pre-Soviet Lithuania returned to them. It can be returned, they are answered, but you have to adopt Lithuanian citizenship and therefore give up U.S. citizenship, since Lithuania does not accept dual citizenship—with rare exceptions.

For many the question is closed after this: To give up their U.S. passport is too big a sacrifice.

Landsbergis on Shevardnadze's Appointment

OW2211160791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1426 GMT 22 nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis, speaking on the republic's television November 21, commented on Eduard Shevardnadze's re-appointment as USSR foreign minister: "The leadership of the now questionable Soviet Union is hanging on to power by using its former capital of international links."

The Lithuanian leader admitted that Eduard Shevardnadze has some authority on the international scene, "that's what subjected Pankin to the unexpected metamorphosis which was hardly fair to him."

V. Landsbergis expressed conviction that the Soviet side would appoint a new leader for its delegation for talks with Lithuania and that "Eduard Shevardnadze should play a role in that."

Collective, State Farms Prepare For Abolition

OW2111182491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1529 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In 1,072 out of the 1,168 former collective and state farms in Lithuania provisional administrations have been set up which are to prepare the abolition of the farms.

Deputy Minister of Agriculture Antanas Sviderskis has told a BF [BALTFAX] correspondent that this is a preparation for the privatisation of Lithuanian agriculture.

As has been reported, the privatisation of former collective and state farms in Lithuania is to start on January 1, 1992.

Mr. Sviderskis said that 920 provisional administrations were headed by those who had headed the farms before. He thought the fact that only 1.4 percent of these people were mistrusted by farmers only goes to show that people who had been running Lithuanian agriculture up to now were ready to carry out the agrarian reform.

Previously some radical forces in Lithuania repeatedly claimed that agriculture in the republic was still controlled by the old nomenklatura. The Freedom of Lithuania League has been placing pickets in front of the Agriculture Ministry demanding the resignation of its senior officials.

Figures Cited for 9-Month Economic Performance

PM2211152191 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 14 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[ELTA report: "Lithuania's Economy in the Transitional Period"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Ministry of the Economy, on the basis of data from its departments of statistics and prices, the Ministry of Finance, the Economics Institute, and other departments, has analyzed economic performance in January-September this year.

Situation in Industry

Over the nine months, state and state-joint stock enterprises produced output worth 19.6 billion rubles [R]. This is 1.5 percent less than the same period last year (in 1991 prices) and 5.5 percent less than 1989. Production fell 1.4 percent in the timber and wood processing industry, 4.9 percent in the construction materials industry, and 9.1 percent in the food industry. The fall in the volume of production in the food industry also predetermined a fall in the total volume of industrial production. Because of a sharp increase in prices (index 4.163), this sector now produces one-third of industrial output in cost terms. While in machine building and metalworking and in light industry, where prices have increased less (the price index here is 1.612 and 2.519 respectively), the proportion has decreased, although production volumes have increased 4.9 percent and 3.7 percent respectively.

The volume of production of many types of output declined in physical terms: chemical fibers and yarns by 24.5 percent, cement by 4.7 percent, televisions by 9.25 percent, knitwear by seven percent, footwear by 4.4 percent, and meat and butter by 12.8 percent. There was a fall in the production of batteries, tape recorders, particleboard, confectionery products, and so on. This output accounts for around 40 percent of exported industrial output in cost terms.

Food Industry

There was a fall in the production and procurement of basic agricultural products. The state procured 12 percent less meat and poultry meat, 11 percent less milk, and 5.5 percent fewer eggs. This was caused by a fall in livestock and poultry numbers and a deterioration in the

basic indicators of livestock raising productivity (in public-sector farms). For example, compared with the same period last year the number of livestock and poultry on farms fell seven percent, including a fall of nine percent for cattle and 14 percent for pigs. The average milk yield per cow was 2,573 kg. This is 10.7 percent less than last year. This was affected by the fact that 24.4 percent less grain was delivered and the production of mixed feed fell 26.9 percent, and shortcomings in the organization of production in the transitional period also had an adverse effect.

Because of this, over the nine months 34,300 tonnes or 18.9 percent less meat and meat products and 159,200 tonnes or 12.8 percent less milk and dairy products than last year were delivered to the republic market.

Investments

Over the nine months, total capital investments from all sources of funding totaled R2.3 billion, including R1.6 billion for construction and installation work. Compared with the same period last year, 38.7 percent less capital investments were assimilated. There was a fall of 25.6 percent in construction and installation work. Forty-eight percent less fixed capital was commissioned. Some 580,700 square meters of housing were constructed. This is 252,000 square meters or 30.3 percent less than last year. The volume of individual housing construction fell 38.9 percent. The main reason for this is that market stocks of construction materials declined (with falls of 23.3 percent in cement, 54 percent in slate, and 31.4 percent in bricks) and that plots of land for individual construction are being allocated badly.

Transport

Some 118.2 million tonnes of cargo were transported by all types of general-purpose transport. This is 9.3 million tonnes or 7.3 percent less than the same period last year. The main reason is the fall in the volume of production in the main sectors and the disruption of economic ties. And yet, motor transport enterprises' earnings almost doubled—they increased by a factor of 1.9.

Consumer Market

The retail trade turnover in actual prices totaled R9.1 billion. Compared with last year, it increased by R4 billion or a factor of 1.8. But the trade turnover fell 35 percent in comparable prices. The delivery to market stocks of many basic food and nonfood products declined as follows: 19 percent for meat and meat products, seven percent for butter, 13 percent for cheeses, 30 percent for fish and fish products, 36 percent for sunflower oil, 29 percent for sugar, 41 percent for potatoes, 36 percent for cotton textiles, 10 percent for knitwear, and 26 percent for footwear.

Sajudis Withdrawal Ultimatum Rejected

PM2211151991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Major S. Knyazkov report: "Ultimatums Will Not Be Accepted"]

[Text] The "Sajudis" city organization sent an appeal to the command of the Vilnius Motorized Infantry Division 7 November suggesting that it withdraw across Lithuanian borders before 31 December. Otherwise, the appeal's authors promise :o rouse the entire Lithuanian people against the "uninvited guests."

Obviously, this extremist attack ranks alongside those which followed a series of declarations by the Baltic States' leadership on the need for an accelerated withdrawal—virtually as early as 1992—of the Soviet Army and the Baltic Fleet Forces from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In addition, these states' governments are adopting discriminatory laws impinging on civil liberties, and they are depriving servicemen, members of their families, and Armed Forces veterans living in the Baltic region of their rights to accommodation, work, and a normal life. This topic was broached at a press conference in the Central House of Journalists by members of the Coordination Council of Representatives of Servicemen in the Baltic Region, Functionaries, Soviet Army and Navy veterans, and entrepreneurial circles of Russia.

Participants in the press conference declared that they reject the policy of ultimatums and support a civilized settlement of property and other problems.

Underground Terrorist Group Activity Reported

LD2211133691 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 14 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Article by Kazimieras Budrys: "Embryos of 'Red Brigades'?"]

[Text] On the night of 12 November, the law and order officials of the Republic of Lithuania dealt the first resolute blow to an underground terrorist group operating in Lithuania. The officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the General Procuracy, and the Security Department carried out more than 70 searches in Vilnius and in Trakai, Salcininkai, and Svencionis rayons. Weapons, ammunition, radio communication equipment, proclamations, newspapers, and other articles of underground activity were found.

It was predicted that the empire apologists would reserve a secret place in Lithuania, which has proclaimed independence. Journalists have been receiving information that official republican sources either could not or would not deny or confirm. For instance, groups of local Russian youths were being prepared for subversive work in the USSR Army units deployed in Lithuania, and the

officials of the Security Committee have been strengthening their conspiratory systems to enable a certain group of people to work underground automatically for a long time.

On 12 October at a news conference at the Supreme Council, acting Internal Affairs Minister Juozas Matonis stressed that underground terrorist activity was noticed a long time ago, only there were no opportunities to name it. The underground organization is improving its structures and communication channels. It embraces not only the three Baltic republics, but also other territory of the former empire. The organization members are striving for professionalism, creating a base of an armed resistance to the authorities. They are united by ideology.

On 6 November Vilnius residents were able to see proclamations in Russian produced at an underground printing establishment. Aggressive texts in Polish are being disseminated in eastern Lithuania. On the eve of the October anniversary, red flags were hoisted in three places in our capital. More did not appear thanks only to law and order officials. The same evening red underground workers were planning to interfere in the Lithuanian radio program via a clandestine broadcast. They had a recording prepared in advance. That secret place was discovered in time.

The incidents continue. On 7 November at about 2200, customs and national defense officials attempted to check paassengers in a car at the Sumskas border control post. The car had Finnish state registration numbers. Its driver and two passengers were wearing free-style army uniforms covered by civilian clothing. One man grabbed a Kalashnikov machine-gun with a sawn-off barrel, while the second jumped out of the car and threw three grenades. Two grenades exploded. Luckily, the fragments only slightly injured one Lithuanian official in the face. Two attackers were arrested at the site of incident, but the third one escaped. The third attacker has been arrested, stated General Procurator Arturas Paulauskas at the news conference. The age of the arrested persons ranges from 26 to 44. They are Russians. One of them is from Ossetia. He has finished his military service, but remained in Lithuania to carry on with this work. One of the "red" Russians is a former military man, currently working in the 108th Division (the military unit in the northern townlet). The workplace of the third terrorist is a public catering enterprise in Vilnius. According to Paulauskas, there is no need for our society to have more detailed information.

The passengers in the car stopped in Sumskas had planned to check their radio communication means so that they could broadcast proclamations.

Former Special Purpose Militia Detachment men who have withdrawn with their weapons, Yedinstvo members, and former KGB and CPSU officials are engaged in the underground organization. Texts and appeals written in August to October and signed by Burokevicius have been found during the searches.

Can this "red brigade" make use of the secret apartments and stores of the Lithuanian unit of the former USSR Security Committee? This question asked by this TIESA correspondent at the news conference was answered by Viktoras Zedelis, deputy general director of the Security Committee. He said that all secret apartments of the security committee have been uncovered; therefore, the underground organization can not use them. It has not yet been decided how we are going to use this base.

Will the red underground workers succeed in consolidating themselves in our republic and, when the "X" hour comes, will they be able to implement the scenario of a new putsch? This will depend on the professionalism of the Lithuanian officials. Maybe this will also depend on us. J. Matonis supplied two telephone numbers to the vigilant citizens: 22-17-95 and 62-07-08.

Brazauskas, Others on Former CP Property Law

PM2211123391 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 9 Nov 91 p 2

[R. Osherov report: "Will Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party Become a Party Without Property?]

[Text] Yesterday the Lithuanian Democratic Party leadership invited journalists to a news conference devoted to the Law "On Acceptance of the Property of the Lithuanian Communist Party [CP] (CPSU) and Former Communist Organizations," which had been adopted by the republic Supreme Council the day before. A. Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDLP], V. Beriozovas and G. Kirkilas, his deputies, and P. Panovas, member of the LDLP Council, took part in it.

As a result of the adoption of the law the LDLP finds itself in a difficult position: It is no secret that certain forces identify the LDLP with the Communist Party. Thus the law can be interpreted in such a way that one of the parties of independent Lithuania—the largest one, with developed structures—runs the risk of, to put it bluntly, ending up out on the street. This causes its leaders understandable anxiety.

Brazauzkas cited the following figures: Two-thirds of the party's monetary savings (18 million rubles [R] in 1989 alone) were made up of membership dues; one-third was made up of revenue from publishing activity (since 1946 this sum has reached R110 million); and subsidy from the center for the same period came to R96 million. How is it possible, then, to talk about resources and property obtained illegally? he asked. It is illogical to confiscate party property on the grounds that the LDLP is a former communist organization, the Union of Composers and Union of Writers were no less communist, and there are 71 former communists among Supreme Council deputies, Brazauskas observed. P. Panovas added that the

adopted law runs counter to the provisions of the existing laws on parties and ownership.

As LDLP leaders informed the journalists, their proposal to share the property among all parties to strengthen the bases of the multiparty system has found support in parliament.

Brazauskas reported that the LDLP will be asking Prime Minister G. Vagnorius to retain for it the LDLP Council building in Vilnius and at least two offices, a car, and a garage in the rayons. If talks do not help, we will turn to the court, he said.

The fate of the party newspaper TIESA is also vague; it too could become state property, the LDLP chairman remarked, although that is unlawful. But the example of VALSTIECIU LAIKRASTIS shows, he said, that such a thing is possible.

Brazauskas stressed that it is not just the future of the party but the real threat to democratic processes in Lithuania that is causing anxiety. G. Kirkilas said in conclusion that the party reserves the right to draw these antidemocratic manifestations to the attention of the European and world community if its rights are violated.

International Affairs

Reportage on Honecker Extradition From Russia

Yeltsin Comments in Bonn

LD2111230791 Moscow TASS in English 2159 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Bonn November 22 TASS—In the end of his address Boris Yeltsin at Helmut Kohl's request spoke on Erich Honecker's fate. He stressed the matter is the prerogative of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. "I have deprived him of much," said Yeltsin, "and I don't want to deprive him of making this decision."

According to Yeltsin, the very fact Honecker is on the Russian territory is illegitimate and contradicts certain articles of the criminal code. That is why Honecker should be extradited. Of course, Gorbachev can move him to Kazakhstan, thus enabling Honecker to travel from one republic to another, Yeltsin said.

Russia will carry its share, said Yeltsin and promised Honecker will not stay in Russia. After which Federal Chancellor might come in touch with Gorbachev and bring the matter to a close. Yeltsin expressed hope Honecker's old age will be taken into consideration in Germany. We are extraditing him not to a "barbarian country" but to a developed civilised state, Yeltsin said.

Kozyrev on Gorbachev Position

LD2111134691 Berlin ADN in German 1248 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev does not rule out the possibility that Erich Honecker, former GDR state and party leader, will be extradited, even during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Germany. He stated this to ADN in Moscow today, shortly before flying to the Federal Republic. Those who received Honecker "as a guest" have to get over their party ideology, however, and view this question solely from the legal point of view.

The solution to the problem lies in the hands of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev alone, the minister reaffirmed. "But I am convinced that Gorbachev, too, will recognize all the facts, and that in the end Honecker will be extradited," Kozyrev stated. Delaying would harm not only relations between Germany and Russia but also would have negative consequences for German-Soviet relations.

Kozyrev repeated the position of the Russian leadership, according to which Honecker is in Moscow illegally. Further residence in the Soviet Union also contravenes the international convention on refugees. From the German side, the former GDR state and party chief is not accused of political viewpoints but of abuse of power.

German Justice Ministry Comments

LD2111222691 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Savvin]

[Text] Bonn November 21 TASS—Bonn keeps on insisting on the extradition of the former East European leader Erich Honecker. His departure to Chile will be considered by the German Government as an unfriendly act, a spokesman for the German Ministry of Justice said here today. In his opinion Honecker must appear in German court.

This all comes as a reaction to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's interview with German second TV on the eve of his departure to Germany when Yeltsin suggested "best possible solution" by sending Honecker to Chile, where former East German top communist's relatives are staying at present.

Yeltsin Continues German Visit, Meets Leaders

Holds Talks With Kohl

LD2111163891 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By unidentified TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Bonn November 21 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of Russia arrived in Germany today for a three-day visit. This is the Russian leader's first trip abroad in his capacity as president of the Russian Federation.

As Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in a TASS interview on the eve of Yeltsin's visit, he would be glad to welcome President Yeltsin in Germany, where people remember the courage he displayed during the days of the August coup.

At present, the point is to energetically uphold, by word and deed, the democratization and economic reforms process launched in Russia, the chancellor said.

"In the long run, we want to help the Russian people to consolidate democracy, freedom, a socially oriented market economy, and the state legal order," Kohl added.

In the opinion of Manfred Krause, director of the Bavaria-Russia consulting firm, Yeltsin's visit is a reflection of an utterly new political atmosphere in the Soviet Union.

The Russian Federation, Krause believes, undoubtedly has become the country's leading republic. And not only people in Russia associate their hopes with the republic's president. "To everyone, including the Germans, Boris Yeltsin has become the symbol of resolute economic reforms being effected in actual fact, not just in words," the German businessman concluded.

At the ramp of the plane upon arrival, the president of Russia was surrounded immediately by journalists. Boris

Yeltsin told them that he regards his visit to Bonn as the beginning of direct cooperation between a new Germany and a new Russia.

Yeltsin also answered a question—often asked in Germany recently—about the destiny of former East German leader Erich Honecker, who is now in the Soviet Union. The president of the Russian Federation emphasised that "Russia has decided this question for itself. It is now up to the central leadership to make a decision." He believes that Honecker should be handed over to German authorities. "Let the German people themselves decide his destiny in accordance with law and justice," the Russian president said.

One of journalists asked why the Russian leader arrived by a regular-service Aeroflot plane. Yeltsin answered that he has no presidential liner of his own. "We shall buy it when Russia begins to live somewhat better," he added.

From the airport the motorcade headed for the Petersberg government residence in a Bonn suburb where the president of Russia will stay.

An official welcoming ceremony took place in the federal chancellor's office in the afternoon. Yeltsin was greeted by Helmut Kohl and other officials. The president of the Russian Federation and the federal chancellor passed by a guard of honor and the national anthems of Germany and Russia were played.

Later in the day Helmut Kohl and Boris Yeltsin had a one-on-one meeting at the chancellor's residence. The meeting was followed by broader talks with the participation of Russian delegation members.

Signs Joint Statement With Kohl

LD2111172691 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By unidentified TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Bonn November 21 TASS—The first day of the visit to Germany by Russian President Boris Yeltsin culminated in the signing of a joint statement which sets out basic principles for political relations between the Russian Federation and reunited Germany.

The statement was signed today by Boris Yeltsin and Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Comments on Agreement

LD2111184191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1658 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Bonn, 21 Nov (TASS)—Speaking here at the federal chancellor's office during the signing ceremony for a joint statement, Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president, stressed that a beginning has been made in laying the contractual and legal foundation for Russian-German relations. He noted with satisfaction the willingness of the German leadership to promote their development on a mutually beneficial basis and on the principles of goodwill.

Mr. Kohl and I, he said, reached a single opinion on the need to follow up the joint statement by working out a package of agreements on various aspects of bilateral relations, which have enormous potential for development.

In Boris Yeltsin's view, the signing of the joint statement and the results of his talk with the chancellor give every reason to hope that the program of economic reform in Russia and its efforts to be integrated into the world economy will be appropriately supported by the FRG. He noted the importance of the accord which has been reached on interaction in resolving one of the most acute problems, that of stage by stage restoration of the republic of Germans in the Volga region in the RSFSR.

Helmut Kohl noted in turn that Boris Yeltsin's visit writes a new chapter into the history of relations between Germany and Russia and lays the foundation for close, peaceful, and friendly cooperaton between them. The German head of government said aid would be continued to Russia, which is reforming its economy. This, he said, must be "help for the purpose of self-help."

The FRG chancellor expressed the hope that other Western countries will also contribute to solving Russia's problems.

Speaks at Bonn Dinner

LD2111220291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1936 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By unidentified TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Bonn, 21 Nov (TASS)—This evening German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl gave a dinner in honor of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president at the Schaumburg Palace, at which the two leaders exchanged speeches.

Greeting his guest as the first president of Russia elected as a result of free elections, as a politician who has resolutely set his sights on promoting his country on the path of political, economic, and social reforms, and as a courageous man who resolutely repulsed the coup forces in August, the chancellor underscored the point that he regards the present visit as a continuation of the traditionally good relations between the German and Russian peoples.

Noting that radical changes in the transitional period in Russia will not be easy for its citizens, the head of the Bonn government said that the Germans will be on the Russians' side. Moreover, he said that the Federal Republic of Germany intends to broaden its exchanges and cooperation with Russia in many spheres. He has in mind the expansion of partnership between towns, links between schools and higher educational establishments, and contacts between churches, trade unions, and sports

organizations. The chancellor noted that Germany wants to facilitate youth exchange, for nothing guards against distrust and prejudice nor creates a firmer basis for the future community than the personal acquaintance of people representing our young generation.

Helmut Kohl wished the RSFSR president, the leaders of the Union, and the leader of other republics success in ensuring a future for the peoples of Russia and the whole Union under conditions of self-determination and in the preservation and broadening of the links among the republics in the interests of the people. Germans are banking on increasing cooperation with Russia and the whole Union, which is justified, Kohl underlined. Stating his approval of achieving joint progress in the process of disarmament and arms control, the chancellor stated that he is counting on the support of Russia in the ratification and realization of the important documents for the security of Europe, such as the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe. We want reinforcement of trust in the broadest sense. This means reliable and single control over all means of mass destruction. Their proliferation must be averted, Helmut Kohl considers.

In his reply speech, Boris Yeltsin drew attention to the huge changes taking place in the USSR, which, in his view, create favorable conditions for a substantial deepening of Russian-German cooperation in all spheres. The expansion of the rights and possibilities of the Russian state, including those in the sphere of international links, the RSFSR president stressed, opens new horizons for developing interaction with partners abroad in the economic, political, cultural, and other spheres.

Boris Yeltsin expressed a high opinion of Germany's great industrial and scientific-technical potential. He noted that Germany has a rich historic and cultural past. In this connection he urged a broader mutual exchange of cultural values for promoting the growth of mutual understanding and the widening of friendly relations between the peoples.

Russia's president added that our country finds itself at a crucial stage of practical actions to renew the life of the people. This process is developing in two interconnected directions: democratization of society and radical economic reform. The tasks that have been set are large and complex. Also great is the desire to achieve successful resolution of these tasks. An integral part of these creative efforts is the firm line toward strengthening friendly relations with foreign countries and developing mutually beneficial cooperation. Russia will continue to follow this course consistently in the hope that it will be understood and supported by Germany, Boris Yeltsin concluded.

Meets With Political Leaders

LD2111231991 Moscow TASS in English 2300 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Bonn November 22 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with leaders of major German parliamentary parties in his residence of Petersberg today. The leading government coalition party, the Christian Democratic Union is lead by Chancellor Helmut Kohl who had a substantial private discussion with Yeltsin before signing a joint statement.

Social Democratic Party leader Bjoern Engholm said after the meeting the German Social Democrats and trade unions are prepared to render practical assistance to Russian economic reform. Possessing a diverse long-time experience of trade union activity the party is ready to help organise hired labour protection unions in Russia and to develop labour legislation and a system of training. Russian reform is "doomed to success" as its failure will have disastrous consequences not only for Europe but for the world as a whole, Engholm said.

Bavarian Christian Social Union chairman, Federal Minister of Finance Theodore Waigel, said Bavaria can help Russia organise federal structures within the republic. Problems pertaining to party collaboration with the new political forces in Russia were also discussed, Waigel said. We do not know as yet which political parties will become our partners but we understand their programmes will be similar to those of many German parties, he said. Much attention was paid to rendering economic and humanitarian aid to Russia, Bavaria intending to make its own contribution.

Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysiy in an interview with a TASS correspondent said Yeltsin and he had discussed economic relations between Russia and the new federal lands and arrived at a joint opinion special treaties with eastern lands are necessary along with the basic governmental federal treaties. The eastern enterprises have decade-long contacts with Soviet partners, some of them were broken in the middle of 1990 creating problems both for Germany and Russia. The Comintern archives problem was touched upon in the discussion as the Party of Democratic Socialism would like to get hold of it, Gysiy said.

Comments on First Day of Visit

LD2211042991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] The first day of my visit to Germany was hard, and the talks with the Federal chancellor and other leaders of the country were intense and fruitful, Boris Yeltsin said in an interview with a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent. According to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president, the whole aspect of problems in bilateral relations was discussed. Boris Yeltsin also noted the great importance of the joint statement signed on the first day of his visit and of the forthcoming preparation of a package of treaties between the new Germany and the new Russia. The president said that the German partners took particular interest in the establishment of a confederative state in place of the former USSR.

Meets With Genscher

LD2211124991 Moscow TASS in English 1048 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Bonn November 21 TASS—Russian cooperation with former East German enterprises which maintain long-standing economic ties with the Soviet Union was in the focus of discussion today between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

This cooperation is important for both countries to stabilise Germany's unemployment levels and to ensure Russia receives badly needed machinery and equipment, Genscher told reporters after a one- hour meeting with the Russian president.

Yeltsin and Genscher agreed that Germany will help modernise Russian power engineering which will then trigger off development in other sectors of the economy.

But Germany does not intend to be the only helping country, Genscher said, adding that an international consortium can deal with the problem.

The Russian president and German foreign minister also discussed developments in the Ukraine. Processes taking place there can affect the development of the whole country, Boris Yeltsin told reporters.

Later today the Russian president will have meetings with MPs [members of parliament] in Bundestag and with German business people.

Holds Talks With Von Weizsaecker

LD2211125691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] At this moment Russian President Yeltsin, who is on an official visit to the FRG, is holding a meeting with Richard von Weizsaecker, president of Germany.

In the morning Yeltsin had a meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the FRG foreign minister. In the course of the meeting the sides paid great attention to the problem of Russia's foreign debt and the situation in the Soviet Union. Problems connected with the eastern part of Germany and the Russian enterprises maintaining economic links with it were also discussed. Yeltsin informed journalists that an accord has been reached on coordinating actions in this sphere.

Kozyrev, Counterpart Sign Accord

LD2111225491 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Bonn November 21 TASS—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev on Thursday [21 November] signed a protocol on consultations between the foreign ministries of Germany and the Russian Federation.

The purpose of consultations is to broaden and deepen bilateral political, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and interaction in the ecological, cultural, and humanitarian spheres.

Commentary Views Yeltsin Trip to Germany

LD2111183491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] I would want to stress the importance of the first foreign visit by Yeltsin as the Russian president for strengthening Russian positions on the international arena. The Russian leader and his closest aides have stressed many times that sovereign Russia intends to pursue its own foreign policy meeting its national interest. This is a reality which politicians both abroad and in the fading Soviet Union should taken into account.

No doubt that the new situation creates definite problems. Our partners have got used to and learnt to deal with the common Union having a common foreign policy associated primarily with Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze who both won and deserved great international prestige. It was these two leading figures who determined what was called Moscow's policy. It wasn't always easy to deal with Moscow, with a central government, but there was always confidence that mutual readiness for a constructive dialogue, for a search for solutions benefitting both sides would in the long-run lead to practical agree-nents, cooperation, and partnership.

After the virtual collapse of the USSR, the problem has inevitably arisen what will happen if each of the new sovereign states that want to join in a new confederation start to pursue its own policy different from those of the others. The concern being voiced on this score is reasonable enough. There's a wide range of issues that are simply beyond coordination and solution with each republic. This holds trues of security, disarmament, compliance with the earlier signed accords, and general economic problems. There's also the question of the degree of predictability of independent policies of the new sovereign states.

Aleksandr Pogodin voices the view that Boris Yeltsin's visit will allow to resolve many of the problems being discussed in this connection. Independent foreign policies of separate republics don't contradict that coordination and concord. The newly appointed External Relations Minister Eduard Shevardnadze emphasized with reference to a discussion with Yeltsin that agreement had been reached to maintain close contacts. Without Russia, Shevardnadze pointed out, there could be no foreign policy for the Union. He voiced hope of productive cooperation with the leadership of Russia and its Foreign Ministry.

Such a concept invites the conclusion that the consolidation of Russia's positions on the international scene, even though it may somewhat complicate the partners' relations in the established system of ties with the Union, will give a fresh impetus to their further perfection by taking into account the interests of all participants in a new state structure.

Commentary on German Economic Investment

PM2211115891 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Vitaliy Kovalenko commentary: "Germany Is Prepared To Help. But Are They Afraid of the Risk?"]

[Text] Official circles in Bonn were clearly late in transferring the direction of their policy away from the Union and toward Russian structures. "We could not do this immediately," Juergen Chrobog, leader of the FRG Foreign Ministry Political Department, admitted openly. "Our gratitude to Gorbachev for German unification was too great and we were simply obliged to support the center for some time." The Germans began making up for lost time in August—they were first to declare the putsch's unconstitutional character.

Today, Yeltsin begins a visit to the FRG, during which it seems the process of changing direction should be completed and should acquire official status.

The program for the visit, as always, is packed, but three groups of problems can be pinpointed in it without difficulty. The first is the Union's collapse and, most of all, the thing which in this connection prompts greatest alarm among Western countries—control over nuclear weapons. The main group of problems is the economic one.

The third group—financing Germans in Russia—was somewhat unexpected. Sensational, even, if you consider that Bonn prepared a draft agreement on financial support for a Volga German Republic, which is not on our maps. Such haste, which is unusual for the Germans, is explained by the exceptional severity of the immigration problem. After taking the GDR under its wing, West Germany was forced to loosen the purse strings liberally: This year alone, 130 billion marks [Deutsche marks, DM] were invested in the Eastern Laender—this is more than our entire foreign debt. As a result, the state budget deficit increased by 66 billion [currency not specified] and subsidies to the Ruhr miners had to be sharply cut, which prompted them to oppose the unification of the two Germanies, and a further 2 million Germans stand at the door—from our country and from Eastern Europe—who, according to FRG laws, have the right to resettle freely in Germany.

In this situation, the government believes it would be cheaper to invest Deutsche marks developing regions abroad where Germans currently live, thus cooling their eagerness to return to the Motherland. The main obstacle is the absence of a republic in the Volga. In the words of Juergen Chrobog, this would first and foremost resolve the issue of a cultural autonomy, without prompting a mass return of Germans to the Volga Region. In this connection, the program envisages equal distribution of financial aid among all inhabitants of the future republic regardless of nationality, and also the parallel financing of other regions with a large German population—Siberia and Kazakhstan.

As for the main group of problems, this falls into two unequal parts. The first concerns humanitarian aid, and here there is practically complete unanimity: products and goods must be sent to Russia this winter—the people must not be allowed to suffer famine. Then there is the problem of investing in the economy—and here there is no such unanimity.

The essence of the conflict lies in the fact that approximately 60 percent of our foreign debt is owed to Germany, and that country is well aware that their money will only be returned in the event of our economy's emerging from the crisis. That means there has to be investment, but experience with the GDR inspires reluctance. Already, DM200 billion have been invested in the Eastern Laender, but even at this rate it will take 10 years to attain parity in living standards and 12 years for this to be achieved in housing.

Of course, Russia cannot be compared to the GDR in terms of potential or resources. "That is 150 million people! You cannot imagine what kind of a market this represents," Henning Voscherau, Hamburg's burgomaster, assured us. However, a lot of money is needed to capture this market. Yes, a lot. "It is pointless to rely on state credits now," Kurt Shtefes [as transliterated], one of the leaders of the Union of German Industrialists, believes. "First, governments simply do not have that kind of money, and second, they will not give it to you, in view of your debts. There is only one way out: direct investment of private capital. But to attract private capital, a reform similar to the one carried out in Germany by Ludwig Erhard in 1948 is needed. So far, all your programs have been concealed, and I do not believe in a hybrid of a planned economy and a market system."

Admittedly, when I asked Kurt Shtefes whether Erhard could have implemented such a stringent and comprehensive reform if there had been no occupying forces to take responsibility for feeding the German people during that period, he thought for a while, shook his head, and said it was unlikely. It seems to me that this is the weak link where the idea could break down.

No doubt the Germans are keen to see us first of all stabilize our finances and bring the legal system in line with European norms; only then will they offer their own capital, and I think they will defend their right not to take risks to the end. However, they are also well aware that without Western aid Russia will be a long time traveling this road, and that means that in the interests of business they will have to take risks.

Yeltsin could be the guarantor. That is if he can convince people that the current Russian president is capable of implementing a strict and consistent policy of radical reform and that anybody who becomes involved in our economy now, in the early stages, will certainly benefit later. It is no coincidence that the FRG Foreign Ministry undiplomatically announced that the visit's high point will be a meeting between Yeltsin and German entrepreneurs, and his speech at this meeting. I suggest that this is no secret for the president himself either, and the Decree on Liberalizing Foreign Economic Activity, which was published a few days ago, can be confidently viewed as an overture to his speech.

Yeltsin Envoy Takes 'New' Diplomacy to Japan

PM2111164991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 91 Union Edition p 4

[S. Agafonov report: "Favorable Start in Tokyo. Japan Pleasantly Surprised by Standard of New Russian Diplomacy"]

[Text] Tokyo—The visit to Japan by Vladimir Lukin, the Russian president's special envoy and chairman of the Russian parliament's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, lasted three days. The purpose of the mission was known well in advance—to hand Japan's prime minister a personal message from B. Yeltsin, explaining the incipient economic reforms in the republic as well as "first-hand" commentaries on the special features and nature of the reform measures. To be frank, initially this aroused no particular enthusiasm in Tokyo since the Japanese as usual expected another guest asking for money and credit. Fortunately their predictions did not come true—Lukin's visit marked the debut of new kind of Russian diplomacy or, more accurately, a different standard of diplomacy for which the Japanese had long been waiting and whose absence had worried them.

Everyone knows that over the last few months thorough Russian dialogue with Tokyo has been announced but has not begun in practice—the contacts and conversations that have taken place only amounted to various proclamations of splendid Russian sovereignty, debates on the territorial problem, or money. Recognizing current realities, the Japanese were unable to find the correct tone in their relations with their new partner and have general rather than selective discussions. Perhaps that is the merit of Lukin's diplomatic ability, but a qualitatively different level of relations has been attained now in the three days that he spent in Japan's capital.

What is this quality? Above all, I think, the fact that the Russian guest succeeded in persuading the Japanese that attempts are actually being made—and not just verbally—to bring the uncontrolled chaotic processes in the republic that have had both the republic and the world in ferment over the last few months back to some kind of unified path of reform.

The actual reform "package" aroused no particular comment or objections in Tokyo. That is important since political and business leaders here to whom the Russian presidential envoy spoke at one time covered a similar course in "market arithmetic" with Japan, and their understanding of the current situation in Russia and of the steps being taken by the Russian Cabinet is an indirect response to the quality of the planned reforms.

During the conversations in Tokyo the Japanese raised the question of whether "solo Russian reforms" would undermine the interrepublic economic agreement and whether the Russian "onrush" would complicate the quest for new forms of economic cooperation between the republics of the former Union. In response the Russian presidential envoy cited not so much arguments in favor of the timeliness of the reform measures as weighty evidence that they were already late in beginning, to put it mildly.

What particularly struck a chord was the way that debt commitments were confirmed—the idea that Russia is ready to assume repayment of debts if any republic gives up on it was heard once again. This approach was unequivocally assessed in Tokyo as responsible and it was quite logical that following this the tone of the economic discussion changed. Lukin refrained from asking for credit and suggested that the Japanese ponder what form of Japanese participation in Russian reforms would be most beneficial to and safer for both sides. A new idea was also voiced at this point—that Japan acquire medicines and consumer goods for rubles so that these rubles could then be invested in Russian privatization. The idea is tempting for us since it would help stabilize the ruble, fill the empty shelves with commodities, etc. Time will tell how tempted the Japanese are by it, however, the presidential envoy's suggestion met with interest in Tokyo.

Naturally, territories were also discussed in Tokyo—also extremely frankly. You can tell from some "leaks" that the Japanese position was certainly "standard" [dezhurnyy], yet there was some progress in our position, according to certain informed people—the problem is no longer regarded as solely a bilateral issue; the emphasis is now shifting to the need to secure consensus within Russia itself.

Khasbulatov Chairs Japanese Businessmen Meeting

LD2211024191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Report by correspondent V. Skvortsov; from the "Vesti" program]

[Text] A Japanese business delegation is currently visiting Moscow. Today, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov opened a business seminar for the businessmen of Russia and the country of the rising sun. Direct contacts between businessmen of the two countries have become possible now, despite the fact that

political disagreements, primarily the issue of returning the four Kuril islands to Japan still present the main stumbling block in signing a peace agreement and normalizing relations—this time between Japan and Russia.

According to the delegation head, they do not plan to sign any specific agreements. The purpose of the visit is to obtain trustworthy information on the state of the Soviet economy, particularly the Russian economy. Japan has already given the USSR so-called humanitarian aid totalling $2.5 billion. A significant share of it has been given to the RSFSR, but Japanese entrepreneurs are right to believe that loans are not the most efficient way of providing aid.

Delegation members complained that in the past similar talks often ended at the level of abstract talks, despite the Japanese side having specific plans for cooperation.

Customs Posts Installed on Estonian Border

PM2211120191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent L. Levitskiy report: "Customs on Friendship Bridge"]

[Text] Tallinn—The ancient fortresses of Ivan-gorod and Narva stand motionless on the steep banks of the Narova River. The Estonian-Russian border passes between them, and they are linked by the Friendship Bridge.

But nowadays it is not easy to get onto the bridge. An Estonian customs post was set up on the Narva bank in August. A few days ago a similar post appeared on the Russian bank. Its base is in Kingisepp City in Leningrad Oblast. The post's task is to control the export of goods from Russia. It appeared somehow unexpectedly and not quite at the right time, as it were. USSR and Estonian delegations have only just met in a nearby small resort, where speeches about how to continue as good neighbors were made at the negotiating table.

A line of trucks of every shape and size formed at the bridge almost as soon as the customs post appeared. Naturally, hardly any of the drivers had proper documents covering the export from Russia of the contents of the vans, bodies, and tanks. The customs officials saw everything: metal, lumber, construction materials, gasoline, clothes, food, electrical equipment, and liquor. The vehicles had been heading for the Baltic region, and now they had to turn around.

The most persistent drivers tried to get the truth out of Customs Chief S. Rusak. He has his instructions, albeit temporary ones. Back in August the Russian Council of Ministers adopted a decision to license certain resources. October saw the emergence of a Leningrad Oblast Soviet resolution on a temporary regime to control the export of food and industrial goods. There are dozens of items on the banned list.

The position of Leningrad Oblast Soviet is understandable. Estonia and the whole Baltic region long ago established quotas for exports of goods and their compulsory licensing, and installed customs posts as well. The economic border has been operating on one side for almost a year: to let out as few resources as possible and to import as many as possible. Their importation is not regulated in any way at all. The high prices, several times higher than Russian prices, act as a magnet for goods from neighboring and distant regions.

Russia, as always and in everything, has been slow to act. This is why it is now in an exasperated hurry, disdaining the elegance with which Estonia has organized its economic border and the border regime. Angularity has been exposed, unconcealed by the legal garb of modern civilization.

By decision of the Russian Government 50 customs posts will very soon appear on Russia's borders. It is only to be hoped that their birth will take place without excessive pangs and will be irreproachable from the viewpoint of morality and law.

"I am profoundly convinced that the economic war between Russia and the Baltics, which has already begun on both sides, will lead to a very grave situation both in Russia and in the Baltic republics," Academician Mikhail Bronshteyn, former people's deputy and now Estonia's observer in the USSR parliament, emphasized in an interview with a news agency.

In his opinion, Western markets today are virtually inaccessible for the Baltic region. There only remains the eastern market.

These are the gloomy arguments of someone in the know. Of course, they are partly subjective, but in the main, he is right. Although all the republics were unable to live amicably together, separately they are simply obliged to live precisely like this, together protecting the single economic area and the single common market. If, of course, there is a desire to survive in a civilized manner.

The editorial office has just received a TASS report: The Estonian Supreme Council has decided to introduce a visa regime along the entire length of the Estonian Republic's border as of 10 January 1992.

Passport control and the visa regime are being introduced on Estonia's border with Russia and Latvia with a view to "stepping up the struggle against crime and ending illegal migration into the republic."

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Supports Shevardnadze Appointment

LD2211001591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Judging by reports in the foreign media, the appointment of Eduard Shevardnadze to the post of

USSR minister of external relations has aroused a friendly and positive reaction worldwide, and this is what Russian President Boris Yeltsin said on the same topic today before his flight to the FRG: The appointment of Eduard Shevardnadze was made after preliminary consultations with Mikhail Gorbachev. I completely supported Shevardnadze as candidate, Yeltsin said, and consider that at such a difficult time his knowledge of the situation in the whole world will help Russia as well.

Fedorov Warns Gorbachev Not To Interfere

AU2111152991 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 21 Nov 91 p 11

[Interview with Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov by Heribert Prantl in Bonn on 18 November: "Gorbachev Does Not Decide on Russia"]

[Text] [Prantl] Mr. Minister, you have opposed Gorbachev vehemently regarding the expulsion of Erich Honecker: You want to expel Honecker absolutely and unconditionally. How much weight does Gorbachev's word still have today?

[Fedorov] The Russian leadership is willing to listen to Gorbachev, but Gorbachev no longer decides which policy Russia or the Soviet Union pursue. Until the putsch in August, Gorbachev could still expect his opinion to be considered to a greater extent.

[Prantl] Is Gorbachev still someone to whom one listens more or less obligingly?

[Fedorov] Of course, he could disturb the implementation of certain programs. If he should adopt a disturbing position, he will not remain president for long.

[Prantl] How important is the Soviet Union still for the Russian Federation? Do you still need it?

[Fedorov] The Government of the Soviet Union does not play any real role now because it practically does not exist anymore. It is simply fiction that the Soviet Union still exists; this state does not exist anymore, either juridically or in reality.

[Prantl] Thus, the Soviet Union is a phantom?

[Fedorov] Yes.

[Prantl] Mr. Minister, Honecker is a German problem. You have your own problems with the past in Russia. How do you want to come to terms with it?

[Fedorov] I explained my position on that in the Russian parliament and I said that Honecker and Zhivkov (Todor Zhivkov, the 80-year-old former Bulgarian dictator, who is on trial in Bulgaria—the editors) are babes-in-arms compared with what we have here in our own country, and the more quickly these Honeckers and Zhivkovs are held responsible—as little figures, compared with our monsters—the sooner we can reckon with our monsters. Even though I feel sympathy for Honecker; I am interested in having his court proceedings completed as quickly as possible. The more quickly you in Germany settle the matter, the sooner we can start dealing with our own past.

[Prantl] You speak of monsters. Who is among the biggest monsters, in your view?

[Fedorov] I believe that you understand that Honecker was the executor of a will that emanated from Moscow: If Honecker had not been Honecker, another man would have been appointed to do his job, and the monsters of whom I speak are the former Politburo members or secretaries of the CPSU, the CPSU leadership.

[Prantl] Including Gorbachev?

[Fedorov] I have said everything and have clearly defined the range of people involved.

[Prantl] How long will these trials for dealing with the past take?

[Fedorov] I think they will take years.

[Prantl] You are a legal philosopher. You were a professor of legal philosophy. At what stage of development is the Russian legal system? Where does it stand, if you compare it with other countries?

[Fedorov] We have a post-feudal society, which is currently trying to become social democrat.

[Prantl] Where do you see the tradition of the development of Russian law? Where do you want to link up?

[Fedorov] Our pillar is the legal institutions that started to develop in the 19th century or at the beginning of the 20th century. This development was cut off in 1917 by the barbarian attack (the October Revolution—the editors). The Russian court reform of 1864 was recognized as the best court reform by all foreign jurists, including the Germans. With our legal reform today, we are taking things from the time before 1917; that is, from Roman-Germanic law. I believe that the more successful our cooperation with Germany is in this field, the more successful we will be.

[Prantl] Is Russia already a state based on the rule of law today—or will it gradually become one?

[Fedorov] The characteristic of a state based on the rule of law is the development of a legal culture. We are just in the process of liberating ourselves from injustice and of moving in the direction of a state based on the rule of law. I believe that the process will take years.

More Republic Presidential Decrees Reported

On State Taxation Service

LD2111164591 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS--Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree establishing a state taxation service in the republic. It will be headed by Minister Igor Lazarev.

On Scientific Institutions

LD2111174591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree on the organization of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Academy of Sciences. Attaching great importance to the development of fundamental science as the basis for Russia's economic, social, and cultural development, the decree says: I decree to reinstate the RSFSR Academy of Sciences as Russia's supreme scientific establishment. It will receive buildings, major scientific instruments, vessels, equipment, and other state property. At present all this is in use by the establishements and organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences that are situated on RSFSR territory.

Another decree by Boris Yeltsin provides for the establishment of the Russian scientific center, the Kurchatov Institute, on the basis of the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute [Institut Atomnoy Energii imeni Kurchatova]. It is said that within two months the government will have to confirm the provision on the RSFSR scientific center and draw up proposals for funding it and for its material and technical support.

On Troop Protection

LD2211001491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The text has been received of a decree by the Russian president on additional measures to socially protect the workers of internal affairs bodies and servicemen of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Interior Ministry troops. Under this document, all categories of servicemen in the Russian Interior Ministry's internal troops are relieved from paying income tax and certain other taxes.

On Monitoring Foreign Aid

PM2211092791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 7

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic presidential decree: "On the Creation of a Humanitarian and Technical Aid Commission"]

[Text] With a view to ensuring the effective utilization in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] of the international humanitarian and technical aid provided by the governments of foreign states and international organizations, I resolve that:

1. A Humanitarian and Technical Aid Commission under the RSFSR president shall be set up during the implementation of radical economic reform in the republic. The RSFSR vice president shall be tasked with leadership of its activity.

2. Valeriy Innokentyevich Ikonnikov shall be appointed chairman of the RSFSR Humanitarian and Technical Aid Commission.

V.I. Ikonnikov shall submit a list of the commission's staff for ratification within 10 days.

3. This RSFSR presidential decree comes into force from the moment it is signed.

RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
Moscow, the Kremlin
18 November 1991

Rutskoy Comments on Foreign Arms Sales

LD2111235291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2130 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Interview with Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic vice president, by commentator Yekaterina Aleksandrova; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Aleksandrova] The latest decrees by Russian President Yeltsin deal with the economic independence of all enterprises. Do you not think that our defense industry will continue to find it more advantageous—even for a pittance and regardless of the country's external economic interests—to sell off all their combat equipment rather than switch to conversion?

[Rutskoy] Of course not. First, today's conference is the first concrete step to implement the decrees signed just a few days ago by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. A completely different form of operation of the military-industrial complex is envisaged. For three years we have all been talking a lot about conversion, and in the end saucepans, forks, knives, plates, meat grinders, etc. have been produced—in other words, things for which there is no demand on the international market. Today we are talking about something quite different: not some sort of subordination of enterprises to some specific ministry but work on concrete programs—concrete programs that will actually be implemented in the Russian Federation, on the territory of the Union, with access to the international market.

What does this involve? Of course defense competence has to be preserved. Some amount of arms and military technology has to be produced; that is obvious and necessary. Once that has been accomplished, the rest

must be converted. How? By using those very achievements and advanced technologies that we have; by using the experience of France, the United States, and Germany for carrying out concrete programs. What is the main program today? Again, everyone is talking about food, but food products do not appear like manna from heaven; they will not just fall onto our plates. We have to set up small and medium-sized agro-processing complexes and work out systems of agricultural mechanization; in other words we need concrete programs. If we are all talking about housing, then it means we must develop the building industry and the manufacture of technological lines to produce bricks, equipment, and the appropriate building components. If we are talking about transport then we must build the technological lines and produce the carriages, the buses, the trucks, etc. Today the organization that will promote this development is the committee under the president of the Russian Federation on conversion, which will promote the implementation of the programs using the experience of foreign states.

Therefore, of course, the question that you asked about selling very cheaply: all of that must be stopped immediately. Look, our motor vehicle technology that we sell abroad costs practically nothing. Is there any point in taking it there in pursuing some hard currency resources? Of course not!

[Aleksandrova] Moreover, at issue is that we sell, our defense enterprises sell, arms to countries without taking account of their foreign policy.

[Rutskoy] Well, a directorate for monitoring the export and import of arms [upravleniye po kontrolyu za proizvodstvo, eksportom i importom vooruzheniy] will be set up under the Committee for Conversion Affairs. A special arms export and import department [otdel po eksport i importu vooruzheniy] will be set up under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take account of the political situation and to have a political evaluation of the region that is buying these arms and war materiel. Moreover, an all-Russian company has been set up that will sell those arms and war materiel. There is, so to speak, a triple system: the directorate for the production and monitoring of export and import, a political assesement of the situation, and an organization that will sell the materiel, which will continue to be manufactured by our defense complexes.

[Aleksandrova] The firms that are represented here are major, well known Western firms. Some kind of political and economic guarantees are needed for cooperation with us. Can you, as a representative of the leadership of the country, give these guarantees?

[Rutskoy] First let us look at the argument in the following way. We are all talking about stability in our society. Stability will not come by itself. Stability can only arrive when there is a sufficient amount of goods and foodstuffs in the shops. Once again, these will not appear on their own, so in today's situation the involvement of foreign firms to implement the programs I was referring to will promote the stabilization of our society. Of course, today the government, the president of Russia himself, and the president of the Soviet Union are providing foreign states with guarantees that their contributions, their investments, will be protected by law. We have drawn up the legislative foundations. What can be discerned at this point is.... [changes thought] You were quite right to ask [French National Assembly President] Mr. Fabius whether they were taking a risk or not. This sort of thing can be observed, and some firms are even saying: When you get stability we will cooperate with you. I do not think that is the correct understanding of the issue. Stability can only follow when life really is improving in society. If we are talking about some sort of radical programs, they should not end with a decree, but they should be implemented in real life. Some people today are incapable of getting themselves out of this dead-end crisis—we have already carried out assessments by specialists. So the involvement of foreign firms, the creation of joint enterprises, and the development of defense industries from the angle of conversion will help tackle these programs.

[Aleksandrova] When will it be possible to speak of some sort of real results of the Russian conversion program that you have drawn up?

[Rutskoy] As of today, a program has been developed to produce equipment for private farms, a whole turnkey complex—building, workshop, machinery, production, everything ready for action. A program has been developed: a program for the production of small complexes for processing agricultural output, a five-tonne plant for the processing of milk—producing eight types of dairy products—a 10-tonne plant, and a 40-tonne plant. We have already exhibited these units at the Conversion 1991 show in Italy, where it was extremely positively assessed. Foreign firms even wish to buy this equipment from us. Furthermore, the Ministry of General Machine Building has developed small-scale equipment to process agricultural products: vegetables, meat, and cattle. We have now completely developed this program. A Russian joint-stock company has been set up from three former USSR military-industrial ministries, and this joint-stock company has floated enterprises that will produce all this equipment, beginning with a building for private farming and ending with processing—the entire complex. I have models and blueprints prepared. Incidentally, we are holding a conference about this joint-stock company today at 1400 on the production of equipment for agriculture, and I think we will begin mass production in January or February. One of the programs is already completely ready.

[Aleksandrova] Putting it bluntly, how much longer do we have to endure this?

[Rutskoy] I do not like to make promises. I always put it like this: Let us do it and then we will see. Therefore, it is obvious and understandable to everyone that the

economy has been driven to such a state, and it is obvious why it has reached such a state because there has been lawlessness at the top. Actually, this continues today as well because the only mechanism to realize those radical programs that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin announced at the congress can only be the law. This is the only mechanism to realize these programs. Therefore, it is now in precisely this area that we have to be active, to increase responsibility, to increase demand, and there must be a system to govern the implementation of these programs. Objectively, people will realistically begin to feel the effects, even of the first program about which I have just been talking, somewhere around next October or November.

[Aleksandrova] Let us hope so. Thank you.

'Information Leak' in SCSE Case Viewed

PM2111140191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[V. Rudnev article: "State Committee for State of Emergency [SCSE]-DER SPIEGEL: Criminal Proceedings Instituted With Respect to Information Leak. But Have We Gotten To Know Those Involved in the Deal?"]

[Text] On 18 November, following the results of an official investigation into the leak of information concerning the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]—a leak into the hands of the German magazine DER SPIEGEL—Russian General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov instituted criminal proceedings under Article 184 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Criminal Code—divulging the data of a preliminary investigation. True, a symbolic punishment awaits the guilty persons: corrective labor for a period of up to six months or a fine of up to 100 rubles. However, it is very problematic to find those involved in the deal.

As reported by the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office Press Service—and transmitted over TASS channels—the materials of the investigation make it possible to conclude that DER SPIEGEL learned of the contents of the testimonies of Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Pavlov not from the minutes but from video recordings of the interrogations.

However, is this news? DER SPIEGEL reported on the video tapes as much as a month ago. They have even been shown on our television, and it was not the question of the bearer of the sensational information that excited the public. **They asked: Who in the USSR sold the information? What was its price?**

Two versions were advanced. First: DER SPIEGEL bought the video tapes as the result of a commercial deal. Second: The information was "passed" to German journalists for political reasons. Each version has its own supporters and opponents. Only both sides are rather short on arguments—there is more emotion, more rumors, and more fabrications. All were awaiting the results of the prosecutor's office check. I cite from that same report by the press group: "The official investigation conducted by prosecutor's office workers independent of the investigative group has led to this conclusion: None of this group's investigators had a bearing on this instance of the divulging of investigative materials, and they can continue to participate in the investigation."

Well, let us trust this even though the independent check was led by Russian Deputy General Prosecutor Yevgeniy Lisov, who himself heads the investigation team in the case of the SCSE. The upcoming criminal case with respect to the leak of information will be investigated by one of the Russian prosecutor's office workers, who is not being named yet. "He is not a worker on the central apparatus," was all V. Stepankov would say, "and is not connected with the investigation team."

It is a good thing that he is not connected. For it is naive, to say the least, to claim today that the investigators in the case of the SCSE were totally uninvolved in the leak of information—not even the first step has been taken to check out such a supposition by investigative means, and if the future investigator in the "SCSE-DER SPIEGEL" case does not cast doubt on the conclusions of the official check, then this will not be an investigation but just a procedural formulation of the conclusions of the Russian Prosecutor's Office leadership.

Quite honestly, one thing worries me in this affair—the position of Republic General Prosecutor Valentin Stepankov or, more accurately, the partiality [odnoznachnost] of his position. From the first day Stepankov took one side: The leak of information was organized for political reasons. Whom does this benefit?—the prosecutor asks, and he himself replies: It benefits those who wish to portray us Russian prosecutors as fools,and the members of the SCSE as inebriated pranksters in order to compromise the prosecution in the trial.

I had a long chat with the Russian general prosecutor, trying to prove the reality of the other version: Maybe the disappearance of the tapes was a simple commercial deal, but Valentin Georgiyevich was adamant: They tried to cast aspersions on us and to blacken the work of the Russian investigative group, and if there was a commercial aspect to this, it was secondary and incidental. "Read OGONEK (No. 43, which carried the political version of the leak of information, with suspicion falling on the KGB and the USSR presidential apparatus—V.R.)," says V. Stepankov citing another argument, "and you will find everything there corresponds with reality."

Anyone can settle our dispute. Leaf through the IZVESTIYA file, find No. 242, and reread the interrogation of Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Pavlov. What will you find there that is criminal and that casts aspersions on the investigation team? Do they beat anyone up? Do they juggle with facts? Nothing of the kind! In fact, there are

no sensations there: We knew all this (or, in the last resort, presumed it) even without DER SPIEGEL.

It certainly was not German journalists but we Soviet ones who "tried to cast aspersions" on the investigation into the case of the SCSE. It was we who wrote of an attempt by the leaders of the investigative group to rehabilitate a past shame of investigative organs—special access for attorneys. It was we who wrote (conclusively!) of numerous violations of the defendants' rights to a defense. Only, to all appearances, our statements in defense of civilized investigative methods in the case of the SCSE do not meet with support from the leaders of the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office, and criticism does not trouble them. For an elementary requirement of the Russian criminal process has still not been fulfilled: Attorneys have not been given access to the materials of the case!

Then what was frightening in DER SPIEGEL? Why do we shout "Fire!" where there is none?

The sensation lies elsewhere: For the first time Soviet journalists have been duped where, you might think, they possessed all the advantages. **And DER SPIEGEL was not the first to preempt us. Even earlier photojournalists for BILD had been given access to the video tapes, and U.S. and British journalists had come with video cameras to watch the tapes.**

Our writer colleagues from abroad were also favored with the Russian general prosecutor's greater attention—for dollars, of course, which we do not have. We are not demanding satisfaction: Let the currency appetites of our Prosecutor's Office remain on its conscience, and we will leave the question of the legality of such trading in official information to copyright specialists and Russian deputies. Only we believe that bad examples are catching. Looking at the "official" currency revenue of the Prosecutor's Office, "private operators" connected with the case of the SCSE have also become lively.

But who specifically? OGONEK believes that the KGB knows the name of the Soviet citizen who presumably took the video materials to the West, but the KGB and the USSR presidential apparatus deny that report. Yet V. Stepankov, who believes OGONEK, knows the name of the traveling salesman. Will we get to know those involved in the deal? If we do, it will most likely be from the Western press. This is how everything happens in this affair.

The report by the Prosecutor's Office Press Group cast aspersions on the crime specialists: "In the process of working with the video tapes their safety was not properly ensured. On 11 October (the official check had only just begun, and it was too early for conclusions—V.R.) the working people who had lost a sense of responsibility for the safety of the investigative materials were taken off work involving the use of technical means in the investigation." We have talked with some of the crime specialists who were taken off the case. They are, of course, not too pleased with that decision, but they have so far refused to comment on V. Stepankov's decision. "It is not yet time," they have remarked diplomatically.

So who is the hero of the scandal? If we follow the logic of Article 184, under which proceedings have been instituted in the case of the information leak, it is not the prosecutors or the investigators or the crime specialists. Otherwise it would have been a different article—Article 170, official crime. The defendants themselves and the attorneys present for the interrogations are ruled out. There remains a third side.

It is here that the investigation will come up against certain difficulties. **We know from circles close to the investigative group that high Soviet "bodies" familiarized themselves with the materials, including the video tapes. What is more, copies were made of the minutes and the video tapes. How many? To whom were they shown, and where?** Questions, questions...

Procurator Discusses Emergency Committee Case

OW2111194291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Procurator General Valentin Stepankov told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent in Khabarovsk region (Mr. Stepankov is the region's Russian parliamentary deputy) that the investigation of the Emergency Committee case may become his last cause. According to Mr. Stepankov, he is "in the way of the circles unwilling to see the case come to court. We drew even more fire when launched an investigation into the case of the Communist Party money, which displeases the emerging political power structures that used us as pawns in their fight to draw a line between party and economic functions."

Asked by IF whether there have been attempts to place the procurator's office under the authority of executive power, Mr. Stepankov said that these attempts continued, but their source was now the Russian Justice Ministry, not the president.

Supreme Soviet

Congress on Appeal to Republics' Soviets

PM2211101091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, People's Deputies resolution on RSFSR Supreme Soviet appeal to other republics' Supreme Soviets and text of appeal, under the "Official Section" rubric]

[Text] Resolution of the Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies

On the Appeal of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to the Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus [Belorussia], the Republic of Georgia, the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the Republic of Moldova, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Turkmen SSR, the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, and the Estonian Republic

The Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies **resolves:**

To approve the Resolution of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities on the RSFSR Supreme Soviet appeal to the Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Georgia, the Kazakh SSR, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the Republic of Moldova, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Turkmen SSR, the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, and the Estonian Republic.

R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
The Kremlin, Moscow
2 November 1991

Appeal of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to the Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Georgia, the Kazakh SSR, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the Republic of Moldova, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Turkmen SSR, the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, and the Estonian Republic

Esteemed Deputies!

We, the people's deputies of the RSFSR, guided by the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other generally recognized norms of international law and the Declaration of the Rights and Freedoms of Man adopted by the Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies on 5 September 1991, appeal to the Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Georgia, the Kazakh SSR, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the Republic of Moldova, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Turkmen SSR, the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, and the Estonian Republic to conclude special treaties or agreements defining and guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the national minorities living on the territory of your republics.

Our appeal to you and our initiative on this very important problem are conditioned by historical factors and the current situation developing in connection with the end of the existence of the USSR as a single state in its old form.

The formation of the multinational Russian state took centuries. It absorbed geographical areas inhabited by peoples who had had an autonomous statehood of their own in the past and by peoples who had not. The path of the formation of Russian statehood was not clear-cut either. It combined both voluntary inclusion in a single state and the forcible annexation of territories and peoples. Such is the truth of history, and it cannot be canceled by a stroke of the pen. By uniting the peoples in a single state, Russia helped them to preserve themselves and their identity in difficult historical conditions.

Today the form and content of the former Russian statehood and the former USSR have changed.

From the formally federative state, independent states have emerged on whose territories representatives of the peoples of the former Union republics live.

The problem has arisen of protecting the rights and freedoms of the national minorities formed in each of our sovereign states, and it must be resolved in a civilized way. That is an objective reality affecting people's fate, and we must take it into account.

In view of all that, the people's deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR put the following proposals to the Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Georgia, the Kazakh SSR, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the Republic of Moldova, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Turkmen SSR, the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, and the Estonian Republic:

1. Accelerate the elaboration and conclusion of special bilateral treaties or agreements with the RSFSR on guarantees of the rights and freedoms of the national minorities living on the territory of your republics.

2. Prior to the conclusion of such treaties or agreements, it is necessary right now:

a) to adopt legal measures to ensure the rights and freedoms of the national minorities;

b) to guarantee each person the opportunity freely to choose his own citizenship;

c) to enshrine in legislative acts the right to dual citizenship so that the representatives of national minorities who are citizens of the republics in which they live may have the right to acquire RSFSR citizenship as well.

For its part, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet guarantees the equality of rights of all nations on Russian Federation territory as well as the adoption of a special law on guarantees of the rights of the national minorities in the RSFSR.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet expresses the hope that the Supreme Soviets of the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Georgia, the Kazakh SSR, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the Republic of Moldova, the Republic of

Tajikistan, the Turkmen SSR, the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, and the Estonian Republic will respond to our appeal without delay in order to resolve the problems raised in it and create guarantees for the safe existence and development of the national minorities on the territories of their states.

Presidium on Presidential Decrees, Resolutions

PM2211100591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] An RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium session was held in the RSFSR House of the Soviets 19 November. It was chaired by S.A. Filatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. According to a report from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Press Center, the session discussed information from V.F. Shumeyko, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, on the results of an expert analysis of the first package of presidential decrees and government resolutions on questions of economic reform and social protection for the population.

It was decided to make changes to existing legislative acts to bring them into line with the main trends in the economic reform program. The president and government were also instructed to change the provisions of certain decrees and resolutions to meet existing legislation.

First Deputy Premier G.E. Burbulis took part in the Presidium session.

Highlights of 21 Nov Presidium Session

LD2111225791

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2025 GMT on 21 November broadcast a recording of today's session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet held in Moscow.

Khasbulatov began by asking for a moment of silence for those who have fallen. The committee on legislation was then elected.

A bill on changes to the criminal code and to the law on administrative crimes was debated. Mityakov spoke first. He explained the reasons for the bill. Some inhumane norms are obsolete, he said, adding that 10 articles of criminal law will be deleted. The death penalty for certain financial crimes would be abolished. The legislative committee agreed with the proposals but wanted the law to be simplified. Amounts of embezzled money attracting a given penalty should be linked to a minimum wage.

At 2030 GMT Konstantinov asked how the bill would affect violence on television, of which, according to Finnish research, there is more in the USSR than in any West European country. Mityakov answered. A deputy said the bill should protect private as well as state property. Mityakov again answered. Voronin gave his opinion on this, and the bill was passed.

Zhukov then spoke on local legal matters. His audience was sparse. Mityakov spoke on amendments to the legal bill. At this point the recording of the day session ended and the evening session began.

The first item noted that the legal bill was passed. Mityakov spoke again on local legal arrangements including the election of magistrates and their status. Altay, Astrakhan, Kamchatka, Kemerovo, Krasnoyarsk, Sverdlovsk, and Chelyabinsk local magistrate candidates were named. The names were given of those candidates not recommended for election because of their incompetence and insufficient knowledge.

Mityakov gave details about the local magistrate elections. The decree was passed, and Khasbulatov wished the new magistrates success.

At 2046 GMT Novikov said he supports Bragin's candidature for membership of a committee, and it was approved.

At 2050 GMT the session moved on to any other business: Gremenchuk criticized the licensing of produce in Krasnodar Kray.

At 2052 GMT the recording ended.

Local Affairs

'Reinforced' Night Patrols Begin in Groznyy

LD2111170191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Since the evening of 20 November, reinforced night patrolling has started in the Zavodskiy District of Groznyy, which is mostly Russian-speaking. It is aimed at preventing excesses on ethnic grounds and sabotage on the oil refineries. It will be carried out by the militia, not by the National Guard.

Dudayev Signs Decree Lifting Martial Law

LD2111220691 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznny November 21 TASS—Martial law in the Chechen Republic has been lifted, Yusup Soslambekov, member of the republican parliament, announced on the local television tonight.

The National Guard has been confined to barracks. President Dzhakhar Dudayev, who signed a decree to

this effect, expressed gratitude to all those who stood on guard of the sovereignty and freedom of this mountainous land on the days that were hard for it.

Martial law in the Chechen Republic is known to have been imposed by Dudayev in response to an attempt by President Boris Yeltsin of Russia to declare a state of emergency throughout the territory of Chechen-Ingushetia. Soslambekov was appointed the minister in charge of martial law. He now tendered his resignation, expressing a wish to concentrate on parliamentary work. Hovewer, the parliament and the president have not yet accepted his resignation.

Kuzbass Signs Agreement With DPRK Ministry

LD2111213991 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1543 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] November 20 [dateline as received]—Agreement between Kuzbass administration and Korean Ministry of Foreign Trade signed in Kemerovo. It is envisaged by the document to open in Kuzbass a Korean foreign trade association to promote trade and economic relations between Kuzbass and North Korea, including setting up of joint ventures. Korean representatives stressed that they regard Kuzbass not only as a coal region but they are also counting on purchasing here chemical fertilizers and reactives in exchange for consumer goods and foodstuffs. Barter is not ruled out.

North Ossetian Media Publish Appeal to UN

LD2111170791 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 21 TASS—The North Ossetian mass media published today the text of an appeal addressed to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and the heads of seven leading world powers by scientists, literary and art workers of Ossetia.

The message says in part: "Unprecedented repressions have been unleashed against the Ossetian people after Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his supporters came to power in Georgia. The Georgian president annulled South Ossetia's autonomy, organised and directed Georgian militants to drive out or physically exterminate the Ossetians."

"Southern Ossetia is blockaded for the third year running," the document recalls. "All the roads are cut. The population cannot get food products and medicines. Gas, water and power supply is disrupted. Newly-borns and sick old people are dying in hospitals from cold and emaciation. Thousands of people have been killed or wounded. Many are reported missing. More than 100,000 refugees were forced to leave their hearths, fleeing from inevitable death". "The world community's conscience cannot put up with all this," the message stresses. "You, and your urgent aid are the Ossetian people's only remaining hope. Our people believe in your humaneness and resolution."

Novosibirsk Movement Opposes Yeltsin's Stance

OW2111194691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Aleksandr Protnikov, co-chairman of the Novosibirsk chapter of the Democratic Reforms Movement, expressed his disagreement with the Russian authorities' tough economic and political line. According to him, the practice of appointing administration heads from above is inefficient. Moreover, the Russian president's methods are not "unlike Hitler's", says he, referring to the fact that Mr. Yeltsin's proteges hold top legislative and executive power at the same time. The support the Russian Congress of People's Deputies gave to Mr. Yeltsin is nothing other than a deal with partocracy, said Mr. Plotnikov.

Speaking at the second conference of the Novosibirsk chapter, Mr. Plotnikov said that its members were opposed to the popular leaders of the Moscow movement. According to him, this disagreement found its reflection in the idea to set up a Siberian regional chapter of the movement.

Interrepublic Affairs

Checkpoints Open on Ukrainian-Moldovan Border

OW2111233391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1959 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Twenty-five checkpoints have opened along the Ukrainian-Moldovan border in implementation of the Ukrainian Cabinet's resolution "On the Protection of the Consumer Market."

The border is controlled only in the daytime. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that cars along the 500-km border section are checked at random, and the police do not always know what to do with the cargoes they stop.

Belorussia

Commercial, Economic Ties Planned With Poland

LD2211031191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belarus [Belarussia] and Poland intend to establish commercial and economic relations. The Belarus Cabinet of Ministers has instructed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to complete in December preparation for a state treaty between Belarus and Poland. In the first half of next year, it is intended to open a consular institution and trade mission of Belarus in Poland, and also a Belarus-Poland trade house. Apart from that, it is intended to open on the Belarus-Polish border new customs points for citizens of the sovereign states.

Border Posts With Latvia, Lithuania Planned

LD2211025191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The Belarus [Belarussia] Council of Ministers decreed to set up border control posts on borders with Latvia and Lithuania. As of 1 December, there will be a temporary procedure for border control of freight, luggage, and hand luggage of passengers who are travelling through the railway crossing points on the border with the Latvian and Lithuanian Republics.

Defense Ministry, Security Council Formed

PM2211113591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Colonel P. Chernenko report: "Defense Ministry and Security Council"]

[Text] As predicted, the examination of the question "Of the Republic of Belarus [Belorussia] Armed Forces," which was submitted at a Supreme Soviet session, exceeded previously designated bounds. Deputies discussed not just the problems of setting armed forces but also the formation of a defense ministry and security council and the social protection of servicemen... But the suggestion that another minister would be appointed in Belarus that day—a defense minister—was not borne out.

Nevertheless, new structures in the republic's defense sphere did emerge. Parliament voted in favor of forming a Ministry for Defense Matters and a Security Council. If in the first instance deputies restricted themselves to just the structure, in the second they ratified a clause on the Security Council and its composition.

Although these questions did not prompt great discussion, the question on constructing accommodation for servicemen—its problems and future prospects—became the subject of serious debate. There were many proposals, which at times were directly opposed. It is known that in Belarus the construction of military settlements is already under way using money allocated by Germany to provide accommodation for servicemen from the Western Group of Forces. Individual deputies proposed that construction be halted and that further redeployment into the republic of units and subunits from the Soviet Army being withdrawn from Germany should not be permitted. After lengthy debates, parliament resolved: Where construction of military settlements has already begun it should be continued, but in the remaining cases the republic Council of Ministers will decide.

Republic Reportedly Developing Own Currency

LD2111221191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Citing official sources, the Minsk newspaper DOBRYY VECHER reported on 20 November that work is going ahead at the Belorussian state mint to prepare a national monetary unit which has been named the taler.

Republic Restricts Sales to Residents

LD2111223191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] As of 20 November, sales of all goods in Belorussia will only be to residents of the republic. According to the decision of the republican government, this will be ensured through the use of residence lists, vouchers, shoppers' identification cards [vizitnyye kartochi pokupateley], and compulsory presentation of passports and other documents confirming identification.

Moldova

Republic Not To Sign Debt Servicing Agreement

OW2111205691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1959 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Although Moldova has signed the memorandum of understanding on the USSR's external debt, it will not sign the agreement on servicing this debt in the form received in Kishinev Thursday [21 November], said Premier Valeriu Muravski at a news conference in the Moldovan capital. He noted that the text of the agreement failed to reflect the Moldovan or Ukrainian suggestions on defining the republics' shares in the Soviet Union's debt and property.

Popular Front Protests Debt Memorandum

AU2211101291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0928 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/11/1991—"The signing on 19 November 1991 of the memorandum on the foreign debts of the former colonies in the now disintegrating Soviet empire," runs a communique issued by the parliamentary group of the People's Front of Moldova, "is an anti-constitutional act."

"The recent economic treaty, drawn up at Alma-Ata and signed in Moscow, as well as the memorandum, are an economic diversion with disastrous effects not only for the present citizens of the Republic of Moldova, but also for this country's future generations," further writes the statement, which continues:

"The international public opinion has watched, in dismay, the incompetence and inconsistency with which the executive of the Republic of Moldova is handling the national liberation movement. The government of Chisinau [Kishinev] is throwing us, our children, grandchildren and generations thereafter into an unprecedented financial and currency servitude. Those several billion dollars ascribed to Moldova as foreign debt will grow year by year, gradually converting, again, the Moldovan national economy into an auxiliary of the empire. President Mircea Snegur and Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi are directly responsible for the economic, social and political consequences of their signing the economic treaty and the memorandum," conclude the People's Front parliamentarians.

Prime Minister on USSR's External Debts

LD2211024591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1647 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev, 21 Nov (TASS)—Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski has rejected a statement by the Popular Front parliamentary group to the effect that Moldova's signing of the memorandum on the USSR's external debts is a disaster for the republic and an anti-constitutional act. At a meeting with journalists today, he stressed that if Moldova wished to become a full member of the world community in the future, then, like every civilized state, it was obliged to pay its debts. "However," he observed, "a hard discussion of the technical aspects of this matter, in which Moldova has its own opinion, is still to take place." Levelling accusations against Moldova's current leadership, ex-Prime Minister Mircea Druk, leader of the Front's parliamentary group, stated yesterday that Moldova's acknowledgement of the debts and its entry into the community constituted an economic diversion with grave consequences both for people alive today and for posterity. According to him, the responsibility for this rests with the current leadership: President Mircea Snegur and Prime Minister Valeriu Muravski.

President Views Elections, Foreign Relations

AU2111171491 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 14 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur by "special envoys" to Kishinev, Viorel Patrichi and Mihail Dumitru Sandu; place and date not given: "First We Want To Make the Republic Complete, Then We Will Take It From There"]

[Text] [TINERETUL LIBER] Mr. President, we are greatly honored that you agreed to meet with TINERETUL LIBER and explain the main economic and political problems facing the Republic of Moldova, as well as the stage of economic relations with the other republics, with Romania, and with other countries. In Romania, people highly value your moderation as an art of leadership. However, some political tensions have appeared of late, which is only to be expected at such a time. We are referring to your relations with the Popular Front, the movement which played such an enormous part in the rebirth of the national idea in Moldova. Can you tell us about the president's relationship with the Popular Front?

[Snegur] I would have preferred your question to be formulated differently, that is, not about the president's relations with the Front, which have remained normal, but rather the president's relations with certain leaders of the Front. I consider my ties with the Popular Front as good and quite auspicious. I must say that in some districts and localities, the local Popular Front branches took the initiative of proposing my candidacy for the forthcoming presidential elections. I would also like to point out that some representative figures in the Front continue to support me; therefore, one should not entirely identify the Front with some of its leaders, who went into opposition without consulting the Front's members. Personally, I regret this development, which only amounts to a split in the bloc of democratic forces, which, until 1989, struggled to obtain what we have got. This misunderstanding comes at an unpropitious time, when we have just gained our independence and are going through a period of great responsibilities; it is happening at a time when we have such tasks as implementing our revolutionary ideas, immediately applying the economic reforms, and improving people's living standards. I repeat, personally I regret this development.

These people are saying ugly words about the president, words that should not be uttered, even when in opposition.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Mr. President, a short while ago, our press in Romania published a short statement of yours in connection with the national anthem. Will you elaborate on that much criticized speech of yours in parliament about Romania's anthem?

[Snegur] This is a question I have been asked on many occasions. When we, the top leadership of the republic, say something, we must take into account the wishes of all our citizens. As you mentioned at the beginning, we must take into consideration the existence of several stages. Everything cannot be done at once! Immediately after the proclamation of our independence, one of the front leaders, Mr. Tudor Ciubotaru, sent us a letter outlining the things that had to be done from then on. First of all, we should concern ourselves with the people's education. Not that the people are uneducated, but we must take into consideration the fact that they have lived in the empire for 50 years. We should return to our history and remember it and everything else. Some things come too brusquely. I do not want to avoid this question about the national anthem. It also seems to me that I was not the first one to say—there were others, too—that "Awake Romanian" is the national anthem of our nation, but we still have to organize a competition for our state anthem, the anthem of the Republic of Moldova. Even though there are two Romanian countries, two countries speaking the same language, we should frankly recognize that if we want to be independent, we must have all the necessary state prerogatives. This was not properly understood, because the idea was presented in an explosive manner, at a meeting where a whole series of other issues were examined, one after the other. You are aware of the problems facing us right now. We have the Moldovans in Transdniestria who have been educated there for the past 74 years. In other words, they need more support. First we want to make the republic complete, then we will take it from there. I do not want to speculate further. There are also our brothers in Bukovina, southern Bessarabia, the Herta district, and Transdniestria, where I visited villages inhabited by peasants whose dialect indicated that they might have originated from Ardeal [Transylvania and Banat]. These are the topics at the moment, not that we are denying our national anthem.

[TINERETUL LIBER] Mr. President, what are the current priorities of the Republic of Moldova?

[Snegur] This is the most difficult question. I believe that after the proclamation of the republic we accepted no interference from the center and no political pressures whatsoever. I do not feel myself to be a member of the State Council and I do not consider this as a leadership body, because the Soviet Union no longer exists. I do not know why Mikhail Gorbachev still functions as president, since he was elected by the Supreme Soviet, which, as you well know, not longer exists. But I..., that is if the president of the Republic of Moldova is confirmed at the ballot, he can function for five years without parliament. Of course, we are talking figuratively, because he will create other bodies. The president must be elected by all the people. That is why I went to Alma-Ata to participate in the creation of an economic community of the republics. I was very surprised that Mr. Silayev again gave in to pressure from Gorbachev when he returned to Moscow, where an attempt was made to give a political slant to this treaty. Emphasis was again laid on the need to conclude a political treaty at Novo-Ogarevo, without state status, meaning that one cannot be without the empire (!?) However, we will not embark upon this road. Mr. Valeriu Muravschi signed the accord because three years from now we do not want now to have our transportation blocked from the outside, to be left without electric power, to be attacked from all sides, to have to close down all enterprises, and to have a mass of unemployed people on our hands. Then, we believe that there are good prospects for integration with the West, even though we are not yet recognized. Bush talks to Gorbachev, Mitterrand talks to Gorbachev. As far as the outside world is concerned, nobody else is accepted. Therefore, things are quite clear. The Soviet Union has great debts and the West must ask for repayment from those who received the money. On the other hand, Western businessmen do show an interest in us. The third priority is to eliminate all obstacles to our faster integration into an economic and cultural confederation with Romania. For a start, the slogan "100 joint enterprises with Romania" is still valid. We should have dealt more intensively with this aspect, but political developments hampered us. Our relations are very good and productive; there is perfect understanding between the leaderships of Moldova and Romania. We have not forgotten the process of privatization and democratization and the establishment and introduction of the national currency. These are the republic's priorities.

[TINERETUL LIBER] There is much talk about Moldova's joining the future Romania.

[Snegur] Future Romania? I said that we are one people with one history. Nevertheless, we have great problems with transportation. There is no railway to facilitate operative exchanges between us. I believe that those who talk about immediate union are not thinking of the wider political picture. Big politics must take into consideration what has happened to us in the past 50 or 74 years, if we also think of Transdniestria. In politics, I am a realist. We must take into consideration the choice of the majority.

[TINERETUL LIBER] How do you explain the confrontations that have taken place in the republic?

[Snegur] The confrontation is not between the natives and those who speak another language. This is not a popular confrontation. It was not the 13 percent Ukrainians or the 12 percent Russians who fueled the tensions, but the few political leaders who exacerbated tensions up to actually making an attempt at dismembering the

republic. Let us take the technical personnel of an enterprise: Nobody has said that somebody is going to stand at the entrance gate and produce a law on the use of the state language out of his pocket and ask everybody how far he has got with learning that language. The proclamation of the two republics [the Gagauz and Transdniestrian Republics] is merely symbolic, as there can be only one center, a united Moldova with Chisinau [Kishinev] as the capital. The Gagauz population want a state of their own because no such states exists in the world, and as far as an independent Transdniestria is concerned, this is absurd when you think that 40 percent of the population there are Moldovans, 26 percent Ukrainians, and 25 percent Russians. Since I am an optimist, I believe that we will find a way to solve this state of tension. After December, the Ukraine will become independent. We will talk with our colleagues in Kiev, Odessa, and other parts, and I believe we will find a compromise solution.

[TINERETUL LIBER] What are the forces that will boycott the presidential elections?

[Snegur] There are three groups that will try to boycott the elections. The Gagauz leaders, those in Transdniestria, and, with regret I must also mention some leaders of the Popular Front. We consider that elections are necessary now for the consolidation of society, because the election of a president will also consolidate the independence of the republic.

[TINERETUL LIBER] People reproach you for the fact that, at a time when Moldova is faced with economic hardships, 5 million rubles [R] will be spent on the electoral campaign.

[Snegur] Since you are talking about money, R5 million means nothing for the country. Only two candidates are left in the race, hence, the expenses will be smaller. The issue at stake is not the money for the elections, even though the opposition is insisting on this aspect. Are Armenia or Georgia richer than Moldova? In spite of all this, presidential elections and referendums on national independence were organized in the two republics—all of them in just one year. You just have to convert this R5 million into dollars to see how little it is. Boris Yeltsin asked for additional powers to continue with the reforms. I am considered a dictator by some publications. Did you go through cordons of policemen when you came to the presidential office? Were you checked with electronic devices? I am responsible for everything happening in the republic, while those shouting in the streets are accountable to no one. They do not care that there is no gasoline, not even for the prime minister. They only know how to complain loudly that the transportation system is falling apart. The demonstrators have their philosophy: "We will bring oil tankers with oil from Kuwait, why do we need barges of oil from Tyumen?" Yes, this may be so in the future, but right now Kuwait demands dollars in return for its oil.

[TINERETUL LIBER] You mentioned the Romanians currently living in northern Bukovina and southern Bessarabia. You will soon sign the bilateral treaty with the Ukraine. Will this document be of an exclusively economic nature, or will it also include provisions on the issue of these Moldovan territories?

[Snegur] This is a problem for the future. Right now, we must lay the foundations of the economic agreement. A political treaty is also being worked out by political scientists, historians, and parliamentarians. This treaty is a most delicate problem, as the Ukrainian side does not want the economic treaty to contain references to the lands that are currently part of the Ukraine. However, we are aware of this aspect. Bukovina is flying the tricolor flag and the Republic of Moldova is lending all possible support to the "Mihai Eminescu" Cultural Society. We would like this problem not to be resolved now, but its existence to be recognized. A solution will be found through negotiations.

Justice Ministry Implements Organizations Law

LD2211025591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The Moldovan Justice Ministry began to implement the law on party and other public political organizations today. The first certificate of registration was handed over to the National Youth League and the Agrarian Democratic Party of Moldova. The remaining 13 parties and movements, registered in their time by the republic's government, have not completed an application. According to the law, they should be registered within six months.

Flights Stopped Because of Fuel Shortages

LD2111131491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] As a result of a lack of fuel, the Civil Aviation Directorate of Moldova has halted flights to 13 destinations for the period 20-30 November. These include Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tbilisi, and Baku.

Ukraine

Republic Not To Join Political Union

LD2111230691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The EUROPA-FORUM agency has reported that Vladimir Grinev, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, stated that the Ukraine will never join the new political union and that it is in favor of equal bilateral economic ties with its neighbors in Europe, especially with Russia, Poland, and the Baltic states.

Minister on Rejection of G-7 Debt Accord

LD2111220191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Fokin by correspondent Henadiy Tusheyko, from the Ukrainian TV and Radio Company, on 19 November at the Kiev airport—recorded]

[Text] [Tusheyko] Well, Vitold Pavlovych [Fokin], you were taking part in the Moscow meeting with representatives of the G-7 governments, the developed countries of the West. And there is information, we heard that you, in fact, just like representatives of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan ...

[Fokin, interrupting] And Georgia.

[Tysheyko] And Georgia, did not sign the memorandum concerning our external debts, the external debts of the former Union. Could you please comment on this decision of yours.

[Fokin] I must apologize because, according to an agreement between the parties, all negotiations were held behind closed doors, so to speak; we agreed on the confidentiality of our negotiations. However, since you asked, and since some materials were shown on Central Television, I have to say this: In my view we are moving closer and closer to a deadlock. Today it was still possible to stop this train and give a direct and honest answer about what the external debts of the former USSR consist of, what property we have abroad, and what the former USSR's assets abroad comprise, because I absolutely cannot imagine that either a state or any person would sign a bill which does not indicate how much a person or state owes. I consider this to be a nonsense. I have no moral right to reproach those who signed, who lost their ground and signed this disgraceful document. However, I think that this is not in the interests of their peoples. I think that some time later, when we all sit at the table of negotiations between ourselves, the sovereign states—subjects of the former Soviet Union sit at the table of negotiations and find a common language—when they have exhaustive information presented to them, then it will be possible to decide on whether to sign this memorandum after all.

I want to confirm that the Ukraine does not repudiate its share of the debts, but the Ukraine lays claims to the property and those assets which are abroad.

[Tusheyko] But Vitold Pavlovych, I know that you have been pressing for a determination of specifically what the Ukraine's debts are for such a long time. I understand that now they have not been determined either how much precisely is owed by the Ukraine, that is.

[Fokin] No. The percentage was determined: 16.3 percent out of the sum total of debts. However, the talk is only about the state debt. And the volume of debts according to the so-called commercial credits being received by Russian ministries and departments, all sorts of consortiums and concerns, are concealed, even from us. And we do not know where this money has gone. I am convinced of one thing: the Ukrainian people did not get a kopeck from those credits. What sort of person would I be if I had neglected the interests of the people and signed this document?

[Tusheyko] Vitold Pavlovych, surely not all of our viewers [as heard] are prepared to such a degree that they could understand what the difference is between collective, common responsibility, as the memorandum calls for.

[Fokin] That is the thing, because the G-7 countries demand that the memorandum be signed by the republics, which assume common responsibility. In other words, this sort of a yoke falls to any republic that stays in this group. For instance, the Baltics have flatly refused to pay the debts and their share is nearly $3.5 billion; therefore, this $3.5 billion is put on the shoulders of the republics that are members of the group which signed this memorandum. Now Uzbekistan has flatly rejected it, and this debt is already put on 11 republics. If Georgia leaves, and say, the Ukraine leaves, and also Turkmenistan, this debt is put on the rest of republics. Even if one of the republics which has signed this memorandum remains, 100 percent of the entire debt will be put on it. These are shackling conditions. I absolutely do not know—well, again I do not have moral right to criticize my colleagues but I very much hope that the corresponding Supreme Soviet, corresponding parliament, will correct them. This cannot be allowed.

[Tusheyko] Was there any pressure put on you by those republics who in recent days signed the political agreement between themselves?

[Fokin] You may have surmised. There was enough pressure and in all sorts of ways.

Claims of Emerging New State 'False'

OW2111205491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1959 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ruslan Bodelan, head of the Regional Council in Odessa, has refuted national TV reports that a new state, Novorossia (New Russia), is expected to emerge in the southern Ukraine. He dismissed reports of this kind as false, provocative and aimed at breaking up the Ukraine.

Foreign Minister on Shevardnadze Appointment

LD2211022991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1624 GMT 20 Nov 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 20 Nov (TASS)—"This appointment was not unexpected for us," Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko told a UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent on Eduard Shevardnadze's new appointment. "We

expected it even earlier, immediately after the military putsch. But at that time, as is known, hasty measures meant things were arranged differently. In this instance, we are proceeding from the fact that Eduard Shevardnadze's experience and prestige as a major political figure will help to carry out urgent reforms and fundamental changes aimed at implementing in full measure the foreign policy of the sovereign states of the former Union." Zlenko noted that he knows Shevardnadze as a follower of democracy and believes that he will not change this position. "This gives us grounds to hope for mutual understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation on absolutely new conditions taking into account the realities of today both in the former Union and in our republic," the minister stressed.

Candidates Continue Presidential Campaign

LD2111222791 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Presidential elections will be held in Ukraine also on 1st December, along with the all-Ukrainian referendum. There are seven contenders for this post. Right now they are in the midst of an election campaign.

The most outstanding of the contenders is Leonid Kravchuk, who arrived in Uzhgorod today. There he had meetings with work collectives of large enterprises, deputies (?of all levels), representatives of the intelligentsia. During those meetings Leonid Kravchuk expressed his ideas in detail about a further construction of an independent Ukrainian state, solution of acute problems of today.

Another candidate, Vyacheslav Chornovil, held a press conference in Kiev today. In the main it was devoted to the analysis of tense relationships between Ukraine and the center, which is trying to set up a single political community. Vyacheslav Chornovil underlined that independent Ukraine should in no way foresake its national principles. As for its entering any unions, Ukraine should decide itself with whom and how to cooperate.

Candidate Links Sovereignty, Economic Success

LD2111225591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] The reforms which Russia is to implement in the near future will inevitably entail a process of transformations in the Ukrainian economy, which means that their implementation should be coordinated. This has been pointed out by Vladimir Grinev, a candidate for the post of Ukrainian president and deputy chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet, during his meeting with electors.

The sovereignty of the Ukraine, in his view, is only the instrument which will assist in giving people the life they deserve. At least 18 months will be required to reverse the economic slump, and 5 years will be needed to improve interaction. The introduction of separate currencies creates the need to seek ways of cooperation, such as the clearing bank project which is being developed in the Ukraine. It is impossible for the republics to do without a military political union.

Poll Indicates Popularity of Candidates

LD2211113891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] At the request of the Institute of International Relations, Economics, Politics, and Law, a group of sociologists recently conducted a poll to learn the popularity of the candidates for the post of Ukrainian president. The random sampling poll was conducted in 12 oblasts of the republic in western, central, and eastern Ukraine. A total of 11,397 citizens were polled. The popularity rating of the presidential candidates varies from region to region within the following limits: Volodymyr Hrynyov, 1 to 29 percent; Leonid Kravchuk, 9 to 44 percent; Levko Lukyanenko, 1 to 18 percent; Oleksandr Tkachenko, 0 to 3 percent; Vyacheslav Chornovil, 6 to 40 percent; Igor Yukhnovskyy, 6 to 41 percent; and Leopold Taburyanskyy, 0 to 1 percent.

Lvov Oblast Candidate on Economy Reform

PM2111131991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 p 3

[By correspondent V. Drozd: "What To Study?"]

[Text] Lvov—Speaking on local television recently, Ukrainian presidential candidate V. Chornovil, chairman of the Lvov Oblast Soviet, "apologized" for his long absence from Galicia: He said that he had nothing to do here, that democratic processes in the region are developing normally. His tasks are to raise the consciousness of the inhabitants of the eastern oblasts of the Ukraine, in particular with the experience of Galicia in the pace of economic reforms which, he said, is the envy of all the republic's oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] chairmen.

We now open a fresh issue of the oblast newspaper MOLODA GALICHINA. "Who is envious?" the newspaper asks in surprise, "And of what 'pace of reforms in Lvov Oblast?' Do we really have any pace? The Lvov economy is an abscess which must be not cured but cut off."

"We cannot blame the partycrats forever for all sins," the newspaper continues. "Yes, they caused a lot of trouble. But power on Galician land has for a long time now been in the democrats' hands..."

The local politicians obviously have other concerns. On the same day they were reported by another oblast newspaper, ZA VILNU UKRAINU, which published an appeal from leaders of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] cells which says in particular: "If the Economic Community Treaty is ratified we shall

come out with an initiative for nationwide disobedience." And another report contains a call for a mass exodus (and where on earth is the money coming from—V.D.) to Kiev to protest the signing of any treaties...

Yes, it is not for nothing that they say in the Ukraine: It is easier to deliver a speech than to draw a plow...

Interior Troops Discuss National Guard

LD2211103491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Yesterday in Kiev, an assembly of representatives of the officers' corps of the interior troops of the Ukraine took place to discuss issues involved in setting up a national guard. Correspondent Volodymyr Udovychenko attended the event:

[Begin recording] [Udovychenko] Setting up a national guard in the Ukraine is no doubt a difficult and lengthy process. Such a big task cannot be performed in one day. The assembly of officers of interior troops units in the Ukraine is one of the important stages of this task. Vasyl Vasylyovych Durdynets, head of the commission for defense and state security issues under the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, spoke at the assembly. The focal point of his speech was the laws adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and the documents being worked out today in connection with setting up the national guard of the Ukraine. It is noteworthy that the national guard is being formed from the interior troops on the basis of the principle of centralized control, voluntariness, and subordination to the Supreme Soviet. The national guard will engage in providing help during times of natural calamities, guarding important sites, assisting border troops, guarding embassies, and repulsing an external attack, should one occur.

The majority of the officers' questions had to do with social problems and their unsettled lives. Durdynets did not answer all the questions, because some laws and legally binding acts are being prepared. But it was mentioned that the national guard will be paid special attention to in our republic.

The new command of the national guard was presented. Colonel Volodymyr Oleksiyovich Kukharets was the first person named. The command of the guard includes not a single general from the interior troops. I want to introduce now Lieutenant Colonel Mykola Ivanovych Melnyk, one of the commanding deputies.

[Melnyk] Naturally this is an absolutely new thing for the Ukraine, because such a national guard never before existed. It will not be composed of interior troops. It should not be purely regular troops either. It should be something closer, in my view, to airborne troops. The most important and complicated point now is manning. Then there is training. We must raise a conscious citizen, a guardsman of the Ukraine, a person who has command of all the weapons and machines, young men who are physically strong and of sound constitution. At the same time, we hope that they will be people who are prepared to sacrifice themselves for the freedom and independence of the Ukraine, for its unity.

[Udovychenko] You were saying today at your assembly that the national guard will engage at least partly in the functions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Melnyk] We did not take into consideration under any circumstances that policing functions should be imposed on us, because we do not want people to be afraid of the guard. We want people to proud of it, and we want the best sons of the Ukraine to join the guard.

[Udovychenko] We worry about security. Who will defend us from outside? I mean, who will ensure an independent Ukraine.

[Melnyk] I understand very well. I was more of a military man than one who dealt with interior troops. I believe that there has to be our own army of Ukrainian Armed Forces, but right now I do not think that it will be created in the near future. Some security functions will have to be placed on the national guard of the Ukraine. Such a task has been envisaged in the law and the regulations on the national guard. [end recording]

Exercises Planned for Referendum Protested

LD2211101291 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Both listeners and viewers in our republic surely took notice of the speech by Colonel Martyrosyan, head of the officers' union of the Ukraine, which was broadcast live a few days ago. He expressed his disagreement with the planned battle readiness inspection for troops deployed on the territory of our republic, organized by Moscow to occur the eve of the referendum and the presidential elections. How did events develop after this protest? Oleksandr Ovramets, our correspondent for Rovno Oblast, reports:

[Begin recording] [Ovramets] In the view of the head of the officers' union of the Ukraine, the actions of the Union Defense Ministry during the tense time of the preparations for the nationwide referendum and the presidential elections have a clearly expressed political implication. Demonstration of military muscle against the background of the precarious poverty of the people is not only unnecessary, but also could be interpreted as provocation. The costs, which are not small, allocated for carrying out this large-scale action could be better spent on the social needs of servicemen and their families.

In the regiment under the command of Vilen Arutsunovich Martyrosyan, the battle readiness inspection was made, as he promised, by a commission which, in addition to army specialists, also included representatives of the local authorities and people's deputies at various levels. Incidentally, I happened to visit that unit. Order and discipline are seen. Martyrosyan's regiment

has been awarded the title of model regiment. It has decided to do what it can to help the peasants, because in the field the late crops have not yet been harvested.

[Marterosyan, in Russian] I think that today may be the beginning of democratization in the armed forces. I want to say once more that the first regiment in the Ukraine to take the military oath for loyal service to the people of the Ukraine will be our regiment.

[Ovramets] I also spoke to (Petro Kupriyanovych Pryshchepa), head of the soviet and the executive committee at the oblast soviet of people's deputies.

[(Pryshchepa)] What measures are we taking in the oblast in regard to this issue? I want to inform you that we have a firm agreement with army commander Valeriy Mykolayovych Stepanov that not a single movement of troops on the territory of the oblast must take place without the knowledge and consent of the oblast executive committee and myself as the head of the oblast soviet. Everything is under control. I want to tell you that in the future we will maintain the constant control of our army and the troops located on the oblast territory. [end recording]

Statistics From Military Industries Required

LD2111222191 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] All the military-industrial complex enterprises located on the territory of Ukraine will from now on be obliged to hand in a statistical report on its main activity to the republic Ministry on Statistics. Such a decision was adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine. Thus statistical data on what our military defense complex is producing and in what volume will not be available to the population.

Foreign Minister Receives Swiss Counterpart

LD2111221491 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Switzerland Klaus Jacobi completed his working visit to Kiev today. He was received by the Foreign Minister of Ukraine Anatoliy Zlenko, had long talks with the leaders of the Ministry of Finance and Foreign Economic Ties and the national bank of the republic. Klaus Jacobi voiced certainty that Switzerland and Ukraine have all opportunities for establishing mutually beneficial cooperation. The establishment of diplomatic ties between them in the nearest future is not ruled out.

Crimean Resolution on Enterprises Published

PM2211121191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified correspondent under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Anthem, Emblem, and So On..."]

[Text] Simferopol—The resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] "On Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations under Union and Republic Jurisdiction Situated on the Territory of the Crimean ASSR" has been published.

It stipulates that until powers of ownership and property are demarcated between the Ukraine and the Crimean ASSR the enterprises, organizations, and institutions which are under Union and republic jurisdiction on Crimean territory are the property of the Crimean ASSR and pass to the jurisdiction of its organs of state administration. The autonomous republic's Council of Ministers has been entrusted with preparing proposals on the demarcation of powers between the Ukraine and Crimea on questions of ownership and property.

There is one other piece of news. A competition for the best designs for a state emblem and flag and the best music and words for an anthem for the autonomous republic has been announced. It is planned that as early as mid-December a draft constitution for the autonomous republic will be filed at a session of the Crimean ASSR's parliament.

Chernovtsy Oblast Seeks Foreign Economic Role

PM2211114991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Stepan Troyan report under "Direct Line" rubric: "West Quite Near to Bukovina"]

[Text] Chernovtsy—On 1 December Bukovina's residents will not only give their opinion on the future of the Ukraine and not only name a president but will also answer the following question: "Do you agree that Chernovtsy Oblast requires most-favored-territory status in the promotion of foreign economic activity?" [nuzhen status territorii naibolshego sodeystviya vo vneshneekonomicheskoy deyatelnosti]

The third ballot paper appeared after a lengthy debate at the local "parliament." Scientists and specialists have accordingly already formulated a regional concept for the oblast's economic development which has won support from plant and factory labor collectives and the agro-industrial complex. The requisite set of documents is being examined by the Ukrainian parliament.

Meanwhile the oblast soviet of people's deputies has embarked on practical actions. A new management structure has been approved which is capable of operating in market conditions. Instead of the traditional administrations and departments, seven managerial groups have been set up under oblast soviet executive committee deputy chairmen. The administrative apparatus has been "slimmed down" by 100 people or more. It has therefore proved possible—thanks to other measures as well—to raise teachers' and medics' wages 70 percent and to double the wages of cultural and enlightenment establishment personnel.

Russian Newspaper Published in Odessa

LD2111222391 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] A specimen copy of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, a newspaper of Russia's Supreme Soviet, was published today in Odessa at the (?Chornomolskaya Kammuna) publishers. If this issue will be to the liking of the readers, the publishers will conclude a treaty with the founders of the newspaper, the more so since the latter will supply the publishing house with paper, which is in short supply now in this country.

As for the publication (?SABODA), which is issued by the Ternopol region Soviet of People's Deputies, today's circulation was sent to the readers of eastern regions of Ukraine and a portion to the Russian Federation, where quite a few Ukrainians live. Undoubtedly they may be interested in today's issue of the Ternopol newspaper (?SABODA), because it is entirely dedicated to a candidate for Ukraine's president, Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Donbass Seeks Convening of Miners' Congress

PM2111151791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[By correspondent N. Lisovenko: "Donbass Demands Convening of Miners' Congress"]

[Text] Yenakiyevo—A session of the "Ordzhonikidzeugol" Production Association labor collective council decided to seek the convening of a miners' extraordinary congress.

Interruptions in supplies of pit props, a shortage of rails, pipes, and other materials, as well as the fact that the Ukrainian "Krasnodonugol" Association has followed the example of miners from the neighboring Russian "Gukovugol" Association and demanded a pay adjustment coefficient of 4.06, whereas the coefficient for the Ukraine is 2.36—all this has brought new anxiety to a Donbass that has not yet recovered from the spring strike. Since mainly self-appointed strike committees are continuing to function at approximately one-half of Yenakiyevo coal enterprises, discussions of all matters of great importance to the coal miners are invariably very tense. So it was on this occasion.

Republic Seeks Help Over Chernobyl Effects

AU2211094991 Paris AFP in English 0723 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By Patrick Kamenka]

[Text] Kiev, Soviet Ukraine, Nov 22 (AFP)—Ukraine, facing huge environmental problems as it emerges from a command economy and the effects of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power station disaster, needs help from the West for ecological measures, an official said here.

Deputy Ecology Minister Kostytsky Vasyl told AFP that the independence-minded republic was facing dangers both from pollution in the Black Sea and from the results of Chernobyl.

"There is a real danger for the future of the Black Sea," he said, noting the harm done to the sea by industrial waste.

"We just don't know what will happen in the coming years" if anti-pollution measures are not taken urgently, Vasyl said in an interview.

Western aid was needed "to solve these problems together," he added.

According to official Ukrainian documents, the republic accounts for around a quarter of all the pollution measured in the former Soviet Union, even though it occupies less than three percent of its land area.

The sources are Ukraine's chemical and metallurgical industries, and its mines, particularly the huge Donbass coalfield.

Eastern Ukraine ranks as the single most polluted region in all the Soviet Union, while the west of the republic is the third most polluted.

The Ecology Ministry, set up in June this year and headed by the Green Party politician Yuri Shcherbak, has drawn up several projects, including a clean-up plan for the Dniepr river, and for supplies of drinking water throughout Ukraine.

But Vasyl said that equipment was in poor condition, and international cooperation would be needed to monitor river pollution. It was also essential to bring in new legal instruments to encourage clean-up measures.

However the Ecology Ministry is hampered by its low budget, which comes to only 0.42 percent of the republic's total spending.

Vasyl confirmed the Ukrainian parliament's decision to shut down the Chernobyl power station in 1993, and to refrain from building any new nuclear facilities.

However another government official, laboratory director Vadim Stogniy, pointed out that doing without Chernobyl would pose huge energy problems for the highly-industrialised republic.

That was why the government would have to sharply curtail energy use, and seek deals with regions of the Russian Federation that were rich in oil and gas.

Stogniy also said that Ukraine was sponsoring an international competition to design a protective dome to cover the remains of the disaster-hit Chernobyl reactor.

Forum To Seek End to Church Conflicts

OW1811222991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1838 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The All-Ukrainian Interconfessional Forum to open in Kiev on Tuesday [19 November] will become the first gathering of different Christian confessions in the Ukraine. Among the chief speakers will be: Filaret, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Ukraine of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; Yakov Dukhonchenko, chairman of the Union of Evangelical Baptist Christians, and Antony, Archbishop of Kiev and Pereyaslav Khmelnitsky.

"The objective of our forum is to search for ways to end acute religious conflicts between the confessions," said Antony to IF [INTERFAX]. "The problem is particularly urgent in the western part of the republic that is bitterly contested by three churches: the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

Armenia

Talks Broken Off With Azerbaijan

LD2111144891 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan November 21 TASS—Armenia finds it impossible to continue talks with Azerbaijan and regards Azerbaijan's cutting off of the gas pipeline, feeding gas to Armenia, as the expression of the state policy. This policy is aimed at disrupting the economy and life-support systems of the republic and an attempt to put pressure to bear on its leaders, says a statement of the Armenian delegation at the talks, published here today.

At the same time the statement points out that Armenia, which regards negotiations based on the standards of international law as the only possible means of settling the emerging problems, believes the Zheleznovodsk communique is a positive step towards the normalisation of relations between the two republics and the stabilisation of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Armenian delegation reiterated its readiness to spare no efforts for the implementation of provisions of the communique, but stated that the talks would be continued as soon as the normal functioning of the gas pipeline was resumed.

Commenting on this statement, the head of the Armenian delegation and first deputy chairman of the Armenian parliament Babken Ararktsyan said that at the Sunday meeting of the delegations the Armenian delegation began by raising the problem of restoring normal work of the gas pipeline immediately. Otherwise the Armenian side refused to continue talks, regarding the 'gas blockade' as a sort of pressure. "We asked for a break, during which we prepared the text of the statement. However, on the suggestion of observers from the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan, it was decided to postpone its publication, so we signed a protocol with the date of the resumption of gas deliveries—before 2400, November 19. The date has now expired, but gas is still not coming to Armenia. This is why the Armenian delegation is publishing the statement," he said. The head of the delegation reiterated the readiness of the Armenian side to continue the talks after the resumption of gas supplies. "We are not rejecting talks," Ararktsyan insisted.

Georgian Gas Pipeline Reportedly Damaged

OW2111233291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1959 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Early reports say the pipeline through which Armenia hoped to establish gas supplies via Georgia has been damaged. The newspaper RESPUBLIKA ARMENIA says a pipeline section running across South Ossetia exploded—probably as a result of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict.

Daily supplies of up to 5 mln [million] cubic meters of gas were expected to begin arriving in Armenia as of the end of this week. The gas pipeline running across Azerbaijan is still under blockade.

Official Links Rail Blockade, Helicopter Crash

LD2211022591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0135 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—Movement of trains on the Yerevan-Norashen section of the railway line has been blocked for several hours. A TASS correspondent received this information at around 0200 from Pavel Kharitonovich, chief controller at the Ministry of Railways. In his opinion, the railway line blockade might be related to the disaster involving a helicopter in which leaders of the Azerbaijan Republic were travelling. As the "Vesti" television program reported, according to information from Azerbaijan, the helicopter did not crash because of poor weather conditions, but as a result of being fired at with automatic weapons. The chief controller at the Ministry of Railways stated that everything was being done to restore normal functioning of the railway on this section. However, he added, it is hard to say when this will happen.

President Seeks Canadian Economic Aid

PM2111165091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 4

[By correspondent V. Shelkov: "Hopes of Aid"]

[Text] Ottawa, 19 Nov—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has arrived in Canada after visiting Argentina and the United States. The visit is at the invitation of Canada's Armenian community. In Ottawa the guest met with Prime Minister B. Mulroney, parliamentarians, and compatriots living here.

During his talk with members of the Canadian Parliament's House of Commons, the Armenian president answered questions about the situation in the republic and its leadership's decisions. L. Ter-Petrosyan said that Armenia now has an action plan for the next year, in two parts: political and economic. Politically, he stressed, we want to achieve full independence.

Dwelling on the Armenian Government's economic measures, Ter-Petrosyan recalled that Armenia was the first and as yet the only one of the republics of the former Soviet Union to transfer land to private ownership, which it did back in the spring, despite opposition from the center. In the next year Armenia intends to privatize all sectors of the economy connected with agriculture.

The Armenian president said he counts on Canada's help in this sphere. A preliminary accord was reached on grain deliveries from Canada.

Touching on the protection of human rights in Nagorno-Karabakh, Ter-Petrosyan stated that now that the republics of the former USSR are becoming independent states, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is becoming an international problem requiring the presence of foreign observers. Here he has in mind the idea that representatives of the United Nations and various committees and commissions on human rights from other countries should be sent to the region.

Stressing that the Soviet Union no longer exists as a political reality, the Armenian president acknowledged the importance of recreating an economic union between the former republics of the USSR.

After the meeting with parliamentarians, L. Ter-Petrosyan had a talk with Canadian Prime Minister B. Mulroney. I asked the Armenian president to tell me what was discussed.

"We discussed the problem of establishing bilateral relations between Canada and Armenia," the president said. "For the time being, we are talking about economic relations. We will talk about diplomatic ties once Canada has recognized Armenia's independence."

Azerbaijan

Aircraft Crashes in Nagorno-Karabakh 21 Nov

LD2211113591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Excerpt] A Yak-40 passenger plane belonging to the Azerbaijani airline company crashed in Nagorno-Karabakh on 21 November. This has been reported by the Russian Information Agency. All 20 persons on board are believed to have been killed. [passage omitted]

Further on Helicopter Crash in NKAO

Crash Investigated

LD2111221691 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By coresopndent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert November 21 TASS—Investigators from the military procurator's office and experts from the USSR state air traffic inspectorate and the Interior Ministry worked on Thursday [21 November] in Nagorno-Karabakh near Karakend village of Martuni District, where a MI-8 helicopter of the USSR Interior Ministry crashed on Wednesday [20 November].

Present at the site of the crash were USSR Deputy Interior Minister Vitaliy Turbin, General Vyacheslav Ponomarev, first deputy commander of the Airborne Troops of the USSR Interior Ministry, and Yevgeniy Kozhokin, leader of Russian monitors.

According to verified data, there were 22 people on board the helicopter, a spokesman at the commandant's office of the state-of-emergency area told TASS. At about 1400 local time, the helicopter, which was on its way from Agdam to Martuni, made a dive and fell. An explosion was heard and the helicopter caught fire.

The investigation is being continued. Helicopter fragments have been sent for expert examination.

Helicopter 'Shot Down'

LD2111182791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 21 Nov (AZERINFORM-TASS)—Employees of Azerbaijan's law enforcement bodies are investigating the circumstances of the catastrophe of the MI-8 helicopter. Elkhan Rustamov, an AZERINFORM correspondent in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, reports that according to Colonel Sadir Mamedov, deputy head of the internal affairs directorate of the autonomous oblast, "the helicopter was shot down." Sixteen corpses were found at the site of the accident. Other bodies have not yet been found. The "black box" was handed over to a military procurator.

According to AZERINFORM, this information has been confirmed by a video recording done at the accident site and delivered to Baku by correspondents of the All-Union Television and Radio Company. The footage shows that crewmembers and passengers were thrown a considerable distance by the force of the crash from the place where the helicopter fell. According to Mais Mamedov, head of the correspondents' post of the All-Union Television and Radio Company, holes can be seen in the body of the aircraft. Adil Agayev, deputy head of the investigation directorate of Azerbaijan's procurator's office, stated in an interview that the downing of the helicopter was caused by the fact that "it was fired on."

'Probably' Result of Rocket

OW2111204591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1959 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijan's procurator's office reports that it has data indicating that the helicopter that crashed on November 20 in Nagorno-Karabakh had actually been brought down as the helicopter body has holes, most probably made by a rocket, says a report of the press service of Baku's procurator's office.

Twenty persons died in the crash, including Azerbaijan's secretary of state and interior minister, and Russia's and Kazakhstan's observers at the talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Baku's procurator's office dismisses the report that the vehicle had crashed into a rock. The vehicle was a heavy

military helicopter that was equipped with electonics. There are no high mountains in the locality (the vicinity of the village of Marakond, Martunin district) where the crash occurred—only small rocks, none higher than a 2- or 3-story house.

Nor does Baku agree that the pilot was inexperienced. According to the report, such helicopters are flown by very experienced miltiary pilots.

According to the Interrepublican Security Service, the crash was caused by fog. The last words the pilot said were: "A dense fog, I can't see anything."

Leader Declares 3-Day Mourning

LD2111221791 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Baku November 21 TASS—"November 20, 1991, will go down in the history of Azerbaijan as a sorrowful page. The Azerbaijan people have suffered a bereavement. Yet another terrible tragedy has occured in Nagorno-Karabakh: The finest sons of Azerbaijan who, together with representatives of Russia and Kazakhstan, arrived in the long-suffering land of Karabakh on a peace-making mission, died in a military helicopter crash," President Ayaz Mutalibov said in his broadcast to the nation on Thursday [21 November].

"A state commission is working at the site of the tragedy to find out the causes of the crash," the president said. He assured that all measures would be taken with regard to those who are to blame for the accident in accordance with the republic's law. He spoke of the need to convene a special session of the Azerbaijani parliament.

Having expressed deep condolences to the family and relatives of the crash victims and to all Azerbaijani people, the president declared a three-day mourning in the republic.

NKAO, Armenian Condolences

NC2111201691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet Executive Committee has expressed condolences on behalf of the population to the relatives of the victims of yesterday's helicopter crash.

The USSR Internal Affair Ministry has issued a statement concerning the disaster, which occurred near Berdashen [Karakent] in Martuninskiy Rayon. The statement says: [word indistinct] persons died tragically at the helicopter disaster on 20 November; among them were representatives of the Supreme Soviets of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan Republic, Azerbaijani Government officials, law enforcement organs staffers, a group of generals [words indistinct] of the Soviet Army and of interior troops, and journalists.

A commission has been sent to the site of the accident to investigate the cause of the disaster. The necessary assistance is being provided to the [words indistinct].

The leadership of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and of the Interrepublican [word indistinct] on Security expresses deep condolences to the (?relatives of the victims).

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 1730 GMT on 21 November reports: "Armenian President Ter-Petrosyan and acting Prime Minister Bagratyan sent cables on 21 November to Russian Federation President Yeltsin, Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev, and Azerbaijan President Mutalibov, expressing condolences over the (?death) of their representatives."

[The radio adds: "Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the head of the Armenian republic's plenipotentiary delegation at talks with Azerbaijan within the framework of the Zheleznovodsk communique, has sent a condolence cable in the name of the delegation to the Russian and Kazakh observers groups, and to the Azerbaijani plenipotentiary (?delegation) over the death of their members in the helicopter crash."]

Further on Victims' Identities

OW2111133391

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian at 1030 GMT on 21 November, in the "TV Inform" newscast, quoting an AZERINFORM report, broadcasts the names of officials killed in a helicopter crash near Karakent in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] on 20 November.

The list includes: Ismaylov, state secretary of Azerbaijan; Gaibov, general procurator; Asadov, state adviser in Azerbaijan; Gadzhiyev, deputy prime minister; USSR Deputies Dzhafarov and Mamedov; Mirzayev, chief of the Presidential Office Department; Plavskiy, Nagorno-Karabakh procurator; Mozaliyev, Azerbaijan deputy minister for land reclamation; Generals Zhinkin and Kovalev; Ivanov, chief of the Nagorno-Karabakh KGB; Serikov, Kazakhstan deputy minister for internal affairs; Lukashov, representative of the Russian Observers Group; Kocherov, representative of the USSR Ministry of Defense; Mustafayev, correspondent from Azerbaijan Television; and Shakhbazov, cameraman.

Nagorno-Karabakh Seeks To Join Treaty

NC2111201791 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Turkish 1950 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Zaduryan, chairman of the Soviet executive committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and head of the Agro-industrial Committee, has told Karabakh News Agency that the NKR is ready to participate in the Economic Community Treaty, regardless of Azerbaijan's position on this issue. He added that NKR's economy is

connected with the various regions of the country, such as Russia, Ukraine, and Central Asia. We have no intention of breaking off these ties, established over the years. We cannot be sure of the future of our economy without Russia. Zaduryan concluded by saying: We are looking into the possibility of cultivating and exporting ecologically clean vegetables and fruits to the Russian Federation.

Gunfire Continues Along Border With Armenia

OW2111133891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Fire is stili going on along the Armenian-Azerbaijan border. Yesterday the Azerbaijan village of Aligaly of Agdam District was fired at from the direction of the Armenian-populated village of Kazanchi of Mardakert District in Nagorny Karabakh.

Previously there was an attack by machine-guns and grenade cup dischargers on the village of Kirkijan near Stepanakert, capital of Nagorny Karabakh. The same day, the village of Nabilar and a police checkpoint near the town of Shusha in Nagorny Karabakh were also fired at. There has been no information about casualties.

Army Property Stolen; Servicemen Attacked

PM2111154591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

["Our Correspondent" report under the general heading "Shooting and Thieving": "It's Already Like an Avalanche..."]

[Text] A veritable avalanche of thefts of military motor vehicles and property belonging to the Soviet Army and the local border guard detachment has swept Nakhichevan and the adjoining rayons. Reports attest to thefts of UAZ trucks and searchlight units, freight cars containing food and refrigerators for military commissaries, and tanker cars carrying fuel oil. In the last few weeks alone the military has lost 1,500 sets of flight gear, 1,000 overcoats, 1,200 beds, and a fueling unit from freight cars arriving at the railroad station in the autonomous republic's capital.

But there is something else which is depressing the commanders to a larger degree: the increasing incidence of threats and overt terror against servicemen. The end of last week brought news that could not fail to cause alarm. A sentry in Nakhichevan was wounded in an attack by robbers who stole his submachine gun and ammunition. Practically simultaneously in the vicinity of the city railroad station a ZIL-131 duty vehicle belonging to a training battalion was hit by automatic fire from three cars. The driver, Private S. Bliznuyuk, tried to escape his pursuers but, traveling at high speed in his vehicle, lost control on a curve and crashed into a fence. Fortunately, the soldier and the vehicle's senior officer, Senior Sergeant V. Loginov, survived but they were seized by unknown persons, brutally beaten, and taken to the local "National Defense Committee." Here attempts were made to blackmail them, they were forced to write explanatory notes, and they were offered liquor. This mockery continued all night, and it was not until morning that the exhausted servicemen were handed over to the rayon militia department. The whereabouts of the vehicle has not yet been established.

KGB Agents in Baku To Create 'Agitation'

NC2111171691 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 17 Nov 91 p 12

[By Ramiz Asker: "A KGB Landing in Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Baku (HURRIYET)—A large number of KGB agents is claimed to have arrived in Azerbaijan from Moscow, preparing to carry out activities aimed at creating agitation in the republic. According to the Popular Front of Azerbaijan [PFA], nearly 400 KGB agents affiliated to the anti-terrorist "Alfa" unit have booked into Baku hotels. Some are female agents. Niyazi Ibragimov, PFA information chief and member of the Azerbaijan National Musavat Party Executive Council, spoke to HURRIYET about the "KGB landing" in Azerbaijan. He said: "Some 90 KGB agents booked rooms in the Apsheron Hotel and another 140 in the Moscow Hotel. The other agents have been accomodated in garrisons. Their objective is to provoke the Russian minority in Baku and create a wave of agitation to end Azerbaijan's independence. It is rumored that they have placed hospitals on alert as a precaution against bloody incidents."

Arguing that the KGB agents plan to act soon, Ibragimov said that the PFA has taken measures.

Leader Urges Extraordinary Parliament Session

LD2211025791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Azerbaijan President Mutalibov, in an appeal to the republic's citizens, stated his opinion that it is necessary to convene an extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan parliament.

Business Council Protocol Signed With Turkey

TA2111190991 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] A protocol on the establishment of a business council that will organize the commercial activities between Turkey and Azerbaijan was signed in Baku today. According to ANATOLIA, the business council will coordinate matters like the development of bilateral trade and economic cooperation and the undertaking of joint ventures in industry and technology.

Contract Prices on Oil Introduced

LD2111143991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 21 Nov 91

["Television News Service" report]

[Text] In Azerbaijan, contract prices have been introduced on oil. The amount has still not been specified. However, the price of oil will be brought up to the level of world prices, taking into account the state of the external market.

Georgia

Leader Announces 'Front' To Fight 'Empire'

LD2111202591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1630 GMT 21 Nov 91

["Television News Service" report]

[Text] Zviad Gamsakhurdia has told a meeting in Tbilisi that Georgia and Checheno-Ingushetia will shortly set up an anti-imperialist front of the Caucasus, which will declare war on the empire.

President Criticizes News Media

OW2111155591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has said that the official Georgian news media cannot cope with the "extensive information was unleashed [as received] by the propagandistic machinery of the former Soviet empire."

At his meeting with newsmen in Tbilisi on Wednesday [20 November] Z. Gamsakhurdia pointed to the need to radically alter their methods of work in this connection.

According to the president, the first step on this road will be to liquidate the official news agency "SAKINFORM" which, as he put it, preserved old Soviet structures hindering effective professional work. "SAKINFORM" will be replaced by a modern news agency, said the Georgian leader.

President Nationalizes Soviet Army Property

AU2211095791 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 12 Nov 91 p 1

[Decree of the president of the Republic of Georgia on Weapons, Ammunition, Transport, Military Equipment, Military Bases, and Other Military Inventory Belonging to the Soviet Army Located on the Territory of the Republic of Georgia; issued in Tbilisi on 11 November]

[Text] Taking into account the fact that the defense of the interests of the Republic of Georgia, the preservation of its territorial integrity, the strengthening of the defense capability of the Republic of Georgia, ensuring the repulsion of any form of aggression, and the establishment of civic peace calls for the creation of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Georgia and that the working people of Georgia participated to a large extent in the formation of the USSR Armed Forces, I decree that:

1. The weapons, ammunition, transport, military equipment, military bases, and other military inventory belonging to the Soviet Army located on the territory of the Republic of Georgia be declared the property of the Republic of Georgia.

2. The Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers will begin negotiations with the appropriate USSR organs of administration and state power for the transfer to republic ownership of the property indicated in point one of this decree.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

Tbilisi, 11 November 1991.

Tension Despite 'Relative Calm' in S. Ossetia

LD2211093691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0735 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 22 Nov (TASS)—The last 24 hours have passed in relative calm on the territory of South Ossetia. Shots rang out only at the crisis points on the outskirts of Tskhinvali and in Znaurskiy Rayon. According to the news center of the autonomous oblast's information committee, the sociopolitical situation as a whole is tense and set to explode.

It is learned from reliable sources that fighters are concentrating on the vicinity of Tskhinvali, in Georgian villages in Tskhinvalskiy Rayon. They are in full control of all side roads and in several places have cut the main Dzhava-Tskhinvali road, along which humanitarian aid is brought from Vladikavkaz. Reinforced subunits of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs's Internal Troops cannot break through the food and transport blockade either, because they have no order to enter into armed conflict. There is a catastrophic shortage of food in besieged Tskhinvali. Water, gas, and electricity reach the town periodically. All surgical operations have been cancelled in the oblast hospital owing to a shortage of medicines and donated blood.

Alarming reports are coming in from Ossetian villages in Tskhinvalskiy and Znaurskiy Rayons. During a 72-hour period from 18 to 21 November alone, fighters here took 28 Ossetians hostage, 17 houses were plundered and burned, and about 100 head of cattle were rustled. The Ossetian side is detaining over 30 Georgians.

There is unrest on the eastern border of North Ossetia and Checheno-Ingushetia as well. This stems from the fact that a rally of representatives of Ingush nationality is continuing in the town of Nazran. In accordance with the Russian law on rehabilitation, they are categorically demanding restitution of the territory of Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia and the right bank of Vladikavkaz. Those taking part in the rally are calling not only for a peaceful march to the villages in Prigorodnyy Rayon but also for the armed seizure of their lands. An Ingush National Guard has been set up for this purpose.

Groznyy has been visited by a North Ossetian unofficial delegation headed by Georgiy Kozayev, an Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy and rector of the Gori Agricultural Institute. The delegation was received by Dzhakhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic. He forcefully opposed any confrontation between Ingushes and Ossetians and proposed holding in the Georgian town of Kazbegi a meeting of representatives from all peoples of the Caucasus to discuss the situation in the region.

Addressing journalists in Vladikavkaz, Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic, stressed once more that the republic's leadership has been doing everything possible to resolve the conflict between the two peoples by peaceful means.

Democrats Criticize Conditions in Parliament

AU2111183191 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 5 Nov p 2

[Statement issued by the Democratic Center faction in the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council; date not given]

[Text] Sessions of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council are held in conditions in which it is impossible to work, conditions wholly intolerable and insulting to a person. In spite of the fact that Georgian television has lately been showing recordings of the sessions, the Georgian people do not know the entire truth concerning the conditions under which deputies from opposition factions have to work. The television coverage of the session of 30 October, which cut out those moments that clearly reflected not only the current atmosphere but also the real course of government policy, is sufficient confirmation of the fact that the video recordings do not give a full picture of the prevailing situation. For example, it did not show the speeches of those deputies who protested against those insulting actions that are being committed by a group of exalted people under the instigation of the authorities. It did not show those moments when one of the deputies appeared before the session in torn clothes.

In spite of our repeated protests, the authorities do not pay any attention to such events and, as before, protect and organize the activities of the "female rapid reaction corps" camped around the government building.

It is worrying that people from the street who have been entrusted with dubious functions are paying no heed to the reprimands of the protectors of order and are, to all intents and purposes, controlling the entrances to the Supreme Council building and not even permitting deputies into the session.

This phenomenon is in itself confirmation that the government is, as before, continuing its confrontation with political forces that hold contrary positions, artificially aggravating the situation, concealing the truth from the people, and violating constitutional norms.

Until basic working conditions are created in parliament, the human values of deputies protected, and blackmail and the threat of physical reprisals halted, deputies believe it is impossible to participate in similar sessions. At the same time, we view direct television coverage of sessions, something that will place aggressively disposed deputies under equal public and moral influence, as one of the conditions for partial improvement of the situation.

Today, as Georgia is expecting to face its most serious economic and political ordeal, the government is particularly obliged to create [normal] working conditions in parliament.

[Signed] Members of the Democratic Center faction in the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council: N. Natadze, R. Gotsiridze, E. Shengelaia, A. Bobokhidze, P. Koluashvili, D. Berdzenishvili, D. Arevadze, A. Sichinava, G. Lobzhanidze, D. Diasamidze

Armenian Movement Leader Appointed Prefect

NC2111195891 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Nov (ARMENPRES)—HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN paper reports that Samvel Petrosyan, leader of "Dzhavakhk" [Armenian name for Akhalkalakskiy Rayon in Georgia] national movement, has been appointed the prefect for the Armenian-inhabited Akhalkalakskiy Rayon in Georgia. Three non-Armenian prefects had been appointed for the region but none of them won the trust of the people and resigned their post. Now the power is in the hands of a man who enjoys the trust of the people of the rayon.

Kazakhstan

Cattle Face Starvation Due to Drought

PM2111144191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Oleg Stefashin: "It is Not People That Face Famine, but Animals"]

[Text] Karaganda—A critical situation has arisen in Kazakhstan: Many farms have run out of animal feed.

As Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] President N. Nazarbayev said in one of his speeches, it is a long time since the republic has been in such a difficult situation. Because of the severe drought it only managed to harvest 12.5 million tonnes of grain this year, half as much as last year. While people do not face the threat of famine—they will have bread, the president insisted—poor feed provision places the livestock raising sector in an extremely difficult position. Indeed, in order to prevent animal losses, Kazakhstan needs at least another 3.5 million tonnes of grain forage on top of what it has at the moment.

Alarmed by the situation, the republic's Cabinet of Ministers is hastily seeking a way out of the impasse. In particular, it has proposed setting up a special fund made up of payments by the oblasts, as well as moving some of the animals to less drought-affected agricultural zones. They are also going for foreign grain purchases in a big way.

It is difficult to say whether this will salvage the situation. One thing is for sure: Despairing of receiving any help whatsoever, many farms have started slaughtering livestock. Private individuals have also started bidding farewell to their own pet cows.

Kyrgyzstan

National Security Committee Replaces KGB

LD2111192491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] A State Committee for National Security [gosudarstvenniy komitet po natsionalnoy bezopasnosti] is being set up in Kyrgyzstan in place of the KGB. By a decree of Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, Anarbek Bakayev [currently head of the Kyrgyz KGB] is appointed chairman of the new committee. Before 1 January, the Cabinet of Ministers is to prepare draft provisions on the committee's structure, staff, and material and technical provisions.

Tajikistan

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Lithuania

LD2211030891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] An agreement has been signed in Dushanbe on trade and economic cooperation for next year between the republics of Tajikistan and Lithuania. Reciprocal payments in 1992 for supplies of the most important types of raw materials, production and technical goods, services, and consumer goods will be made in rubles for prices that have been mutually agreed and fixed for the year. However, prices for goods delivered outside the set range and volumes will be determined by separate accords.

Cabinet Sets Up Food Crisis Commission

LD2211030591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The Tajikistan Cabinet of Ministers has set up a special government commission to urgently tackle questions concerning food provision in Dushanbe. This decision has been adopted in connection with the city's food crisis and the shortage of the most essential foods, which has now become particularly acute. This state of affairs has arisen because the leaders of the republic's oblast and rayons prevented food deliveries envisaged in their contractual pledges.

Candidate Withdraws From Presidential Race

LD2211113191 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0005 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] A statement has been received from presidential candidate Kadriddin Aslonov by the Tajik commission for the election of Tajik people's deputies. The statement says: I would like to inform you that false rumors have been spread by a number of citizens regarding my involvement in the events of the month of September 1991, in particular the removal of the statue of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. I had nothing to do with the removal of the statue of Lenin. Serious investigation and a specific period of time is required to shed light on this issue so that the truth is known.

Under such circumstances, I do not intend to continue my presidential candidacy. I withdraw my candidacy. I would like to see someone elected to this post who understands all responsibilities and who can help get the Republic of Tajikistan out of the political and economic crisis in the shortest period of time. Abandoning my campaign for the post of president does not mean leaving politics. I express my sincere thanks to all labor collectives and the citizens of Tajikistan who have supported my candidacy for the post of president. I call on all electorates and my supporters to vote in accordance with their wishes, conscience, and wisdom in support of a person who is highly cultured, has a rich understanding and experience of leadership, is a politician and a

civilized person, possesses all good humane qualities, and knows the national economy well.

Uzbekistan

Supreme Soviet Meets; Elections Set 29 Dec

LD2111223691 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Excerpt] On 18 November in Tashkent, the eighth session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation started its work. Yuldoshev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet opened the session. The deputies elected a Presidium and adopted the agenda of the session. There are 29 questions for examination at the Supreme Soviet, including draft laws on the state flag of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the election of the president, the referendum of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the social protection of the disabled, denationalization and privatization, leasing, the basis of the state policy on young people, the state coat of arms of the Republic of Uzbekistan, providing work for the population, tackling of state [word indistinct], and other issues.

Kadirov, chairman of the committee for issues of international relations, language, and culture, spoke on the draft law on the state flag. After its examination the law was adopted. Uzbek President Karimov spoke on the Economic Community Treaty; the draft law on the Union of Sovereign States; the ratification of the concluded interstate agreements between the Republic of Uzbekistan with the republics of Azerbaijan, Ukraine, and Belorussian; and on the economic agreement concluded between Uzbekistan and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The Supreme Soviet ratified the interstate agreements.

The deputies then listened to Khalilov, chairman of the committee on issues of legislation, legality, and law and order, speak on the draft laws on the election of the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan and on the referendum. After an itemized examination the laws were adopted.

The Supreme Soviet assigned the date of electing the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan to be 29 December 1991. On this day a nationwide referendum on the state independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan will be held together with the (?voting) of the people of Tashkent. The Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on the formation of the chamber of (?auditing) and [word indistinct] working group was formed for the formulation of the draft law and other documents associated with its activity. Abdullayev, chairman of the commission on affairs of veterans and invalids, spoke on the draft law on the social protection of invalids. This law was also adopted. The deputies started to examine the draft law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on denationalization and privatization. [passage omitted]

Nominations for President Continue

LD2211031391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The procedure of nominating candidates to the post of republican president continues in Uzbekistan. For the first time in the history of this sovereign state, elections will be held on an alternative basis. The plenum of the central council of Uzbekistan's People's Democratic Party has decide to nominate the party's chairman Islam Karim to the post of president. The name of the second candidate became known today. (?Erk), a young democratic party, nominated its leader, famous Uzbek poet (?Mukhamad Salikh).

Russian Population 'Concerned' Over Future

OW2111191091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1732 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan's authorities must not ignore the republic's Russian-speaking population who have lately been concerned over their destiny, said Malik Kayumov, first secretary of the board of the republican Cinema Workers Union, at a session of the republican Supreme Soviet. According to him, the Uzbek President Islam Karimov must reassure the Russian-speaking population to keep them from leaving Uzbekistan.

Saying that he had nothing to lose, Mr. Kayumov expresed the opinion that the Uzbek president had surrounded himself "with the wrong kind of people" and that his aides must be competent and trustworthy.

On Thursday [21 November] the Uzbek parliament closed its session. On its last day of work the session voted to rescind the diplomatic immunity of Uzbekistan's People's Deputy Shovruk Ruzimuradov who had been sentenced to three years in jail for having participated in spontaneous rallies in Kashkadarya region that had been caused by a price rise in spring.

POW Returns From Afghanistan

PM2111122191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 91 Single Edition p 6

[By V. Andreyev: "Soldier Who Returned From the Heat"]

[Text] There is now one more happy family on this sinful earth—Ilkhom Erkayev, 26 years old, an "Afghan" soldier and former prisoner of war, has met with his father and uncle after almost eight years of separation. He has not yet seen his mother and brothers. The day before yesterday he flew from Saudi Arabia to Moscow and yesterday there was a news conference at the TRUD editorial office.

Having left for an unjust war in 1984, he has spent all these years either serving or atoning for sins. Whose sins?

His sins? Hardly. At that age people do not yet atone for them. Most likely he was suffering for the sins of talentless politicians who sent these little boys to fight for "lofty international ideals." And there they were shot like chickens and taken prisoner...

Ilkhom has still not understood how he was taken somewhere in the region of the Kabul-Bagram road. And captivity began for him after serving six weeks. He says that his treatment was fair. He lived with the mujahidin and studied Islam. He now wants to continue his theological education although, as one journalist joked, he himself can already teach Islam in Uzbekistan.

The long road home was almost interrupted in Saudi Arabia. Two months ago B. Rabbani, leader of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, suggested that he go home—preparation was under way for his official visit to Moscow. He agreed, but in Saudi Arabia he almost reconsidered. For a man who has had no information from his motherland, who has almost completely forgotten Russian, it is easy to become confused. And had it not been for the efforts of R. Aushev, chairman of the USSR president's committee for the affairs of internationalist servicemen, and his colleagues from the Foreign Ministry and other departments, who knows how this story would have ended.

Ruslan Aushev, Aleksandr Maryasov from the Union Foreign Ministry, and their colleagues flew to Saudi Arabia with a delegation of Afghan mujahidin, taking with them Ilkhom's father and uncle. And only his relations and the smell of Uzbek cake which they brought with them seem to have decided his fate.

But how many men there are who have not returned from Afghanistan. According to specialists' assessments there are over 300—prisoners of war and those who have gone missing—who are waiting for a lucky break. The mother and grandmother of Gena Tsezma from Donetsk Oblast were crying in the auditorium. They were crying almost from happiness—they had heard the news that Gena is alive. He has been a prisoner since 1983. Anna Davydovna Gorbunova is also waiting for her son—he went missing in that cursed war. Mariya Vasilyeva, the mother of Muscovite Andrey Nefedov, who went missing in 1984, goes to every such meeting or press conference. Just to hear at least some news. Andrey left home nine years ago and for eight years has been listed as missing.

She looks at Ilkhom and says:

"It seems to me I would die of happiness if I saw Andryusha..."

God grant them that happiness!

The recently created committee under R. Aushev's leadership is doing everything possible and impossible to bring the soldiers back home. But again our problems are a hindrance here too. There are no funds even for a USSR president's committee. And here too sovereignization (a boon for the republics) is resulting in grief for many mothers and fathers. Are we really to be divided even for such a sacred cause? Such sovereignty will not be worth a penny!